FBIS DAILY REPORT
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MORE MATERIALS ON 37th CEMA SESSION IN BERLIN

Filipov Addresses Session

AU201655 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Oct 83 p 7

[Report on speech delivered by Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, at the 37th CEMA session, delivered on 18 October in East Berlin]

[Text] Grisha Filipov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, expressed his full agreement with the evaluations, conclusions, and proposals contained in the thoroughly detailed statement made by Comrade Nikolay Tikhonov, leader of the Soviet delegation, to the session. Comrade Filipov stated as follows:

We are convinced that the Soviet delegation's constructive proposals are actually opening new opportunities for the further development and intensification of cooperation and integration among our countries. The present CEMA session is taking place at a moment requiring tremendous responsibility. Our countries have entered a decisive stage in the implementation of the tasks assigned by the congress of fraternal communist and workers parties during the current 5-year plan period. The successful implementation of the congress decisions will strengthen the material-technical basis of developed socialism even more and will ensure a further successful economic development of our countries, which are engaged in building the foundations of socialism.

The responsibility we are facing at the present moment is determined by the complicated and tense international situation as well. This situation demands a further consolidation of the economic and defense power of the socialist community, so that we may effectively oppose the aggressive policy of American imperialism and of its NATO allies, Grisha Filipov stated.

Yuriy Vladmirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, gave a worthy answer to the provocations of imperialism and submitted an effective program for the solution of the present questions of consolidating peace in his recent declaration. Our party and people approve and actively support the evaluations and constructive proposals of the Soviet side on stopping the arms race, which has assumed dangerous dimensions, on consolidating mutual trust, and on creating conditions for a peaceful settlement of international problems in conformity with the interests and with the will of the peoples in all countries, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation declared.

Under these circumstances, despite the aspirations of the enemies of peace and socialism aimed at destabilizing international relations, despite their economic pressure and their attempt to restrict the opportunities of the socialist countries for an active participation in the international economic exchange, the CEMA countries' economies continue to develop along ascending lines, Grisha Filipov stated.

The results achieved convincingly confirm the correctness of the policy and strategy worked out and consistently implemented by the fraternal communist and workers parties. The comprehensive development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation among the CEMA countries contained in the Executive Committee's report represents an inseparable part of this policy and strategy, and the Soviet Union has considerably contributed to this fact.

The successes achieved in our country's development and in our all-round cooperation are undoubted. No one can deny them. At the same time, in considering the present international situation and the striving of imperialism to arrest our development by all means, in facing the global problems whose solution is awaiting the socialist community, we are confronted with additional and persistent efforts for the practical implementation of the policy mapped out by our parties' Central Committees in connection with the intensification and increase of effectiveness of our social production.

CEMA as the organizer of the multilateral cooperation must play a more active role in this respect. The main task, however, is to adopt necessary measures within the countries themselves, to direct the efforts of our planning organs, of our ministries, of our economic and scientific institutions, toward a fuller utilization of the opportunities and advantages of multilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation. At the same time it is necessary to jointly work out the perfection of the cooperation mechanism and to improve the activities of the CEMA Council and its Secretariat. The report submitted by the CEMA Executive Committee justifiably notes that the opportunities offered by the member-countries' scientific-technical potential are not sufficiently used in our multilateral cooperation. The introduction and application of advanced experiences has not yet become the core of our scientific-technical cooperation, Comrade Filipov stated.

We consider it necessary that in the process of the multilateral coordination of national economic plans in scientific-technical fields for the 1986-1990 periods, a practical coordination of scientific-technical policy should be implemented in priority fields to permit a concentration of the respective cadres and material potential.

Grisha Filipov further pointed out as a positive fact that in 1982 the relative share of mutual trade increased in the total foreign trade volume of our countries. Nevertheless, he added, the opportunities of increasing mutual trade through credits and balances on a wider scale within the framework of the total exchange of goods are still insufficiently utilized. At the same time, under the conditions of intensified integration and expansion of the specialization and production sharing factors, we must intensify our efforts in improving production quality.

As to the question of cooperation in thriftily and efficiently using the thermo-power resources and raw materials, Grisha Filipov expressed his conviction that the most thrifty use of energy and raw materials in all production speres and in the population's everyday life is one of the most important trends in the struggle for the constant improvement of national economic effectiveness in our countries. We can note with satisfaction that in recent years important results have been achieved in this respect, to which the cooperation implemented within the CEMA framework has considerably contributed.

Grisha Filipov further stressed that particular attention should be devoted to timely implementation of the measures connected with the establishment and introduction of new types of highly productive and resource-saving equipment -- such as machinery, automated equipment, peculiar systems of machinery, technological conveyors, and similar devices.

In this respect we agree with the proposal on working out a long-term program for cooperation in this field for the period up to the year 2000, Grisha Filipov stated. We are expecting that the implementation of the measures worked out will enable us to reduce the energy consuming and material-consuming factors in production even more and to provide for a higher volume of the national income per material and energy unit.

Our country particularly appreciates the valuable proposals of the Soviet Union pertaining to cooperation in the energy and raw material sectors and declares its preliminary readiness to participate in the measures mapped out in this field.

The improvement of the population's supplies of foodstuffs in our country is of stragic importance from a political and economic point of view, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation declared. Our parties and governments have always devoted particular care to this problem. The improvement of the peoples' living standard demands a further development of agriculture and the food industry. These measures respond to the decisions of the fraternal communist and workers' parties' congresses in connection with further improving our peoples' living standard, in connection with ensuring more and a greater variety of high quality foodstuffs. It is now important that we should devote optimal efforts, within the CEMA framework, as well as within our countries, for a comprehensive high quality implementation of all measures, on schedule, by paying particular attention to those measures which are linked to the development and perfection of the material-technical basis of the agriculture and food industry, of chemicalizaton of production, and of the introduction of new technological methods, of highly productive plant varieties and animal breeds. In our opinion we should proceed toward joint investment measures for the development of the material-technical base of agriculture and of food industry.

Grisha Filipov closed his statement by expressing his conviction that the recommendations and decisions likely to be adopted at the present session will contribute to the further enhancement of the role and importance of cooperation and integration so that the socioeconomic problems now facing our country and the socialist community as a whole may be resolved.

Lazar Address Reported

AU201556 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Oct 83 p 3

[Text] Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has delivered a speech at the 37th CEMA session. In his preamble he thanked the SED Central Committee and the GDR Government for their friendly welcome and for the excellent conditions for the session's work. He conveyed to all participants in the session and, in particular, to Nicaragua's representatives, who are attending a CEMA session for the first time, greetings from the MSZMP Central Committee and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, and then continued his speech:

"Agreeing with the main conclusions of the CEMA Executive Committee's report, we too, attach great importance to the fact that, as a result of socialist constructive work and the development of our economic integration, the economic strength of our countries and, along with it the consequence of our community in the world economy, have further strengthened. The value of this fact, which is significant to itself, is enhanced by the fact that we have attained the development described by the report at a time when the international situation has become even more tense than before, the arms race that is fomented by extremist circles of imperialism continues, the economic crisis of the capitalist countries goes on, and the United States and some of its allies have taken additional steps -- which also infringe on norms of relations based on equality between countries in some cases -- to limit economic relations with the socialist countries.

"As on many other occasions, it has been proved that, not the least through planned cooperation under CEMA, our community has adequate potential and a suitable organizational ability to overcome the difficulties imposed by the capitalist countries.

Thus, those who intended to use means of economic discrimination for political blackmail and hoped to place insurmountable obstacles in the path of the socialist countries' development are bound to be disappointed once more. Many facts bear out the failure of such calculations, which is shown also by the economic figures summarized in the report.

"The Executive Comittee's report," said the chairman of the government, "noted -- very correctly -- not only the results, but the weaknesses of our work as well. We welcome this approach because, as Comrade Tikhonov also remarked, we ourselves are of the opinion that even greater attention should be paid in the future to critically analyzing problems that hinder progress and to taking better advantage of the possibilities inherent in cooperation, to exposing the reasons for them, to elaborating the measures required for preventing them, and to satisfying each other's requirements at a higher standard and in a systematic manner. With external conditions that have become more difficult, this is called for by the changeover to an intensive phase of development in our countries and a rapid and more successful solution of our complex tasks on the agenda."

Gyorgy Lazar continued by examining the position of the Hungarian people's economy.

"In April of this year the MSZMP Central Committee appraised the status of the implementation of the resolutions of our party's latest, its 12th, congress. The Central Committee concluded that even amid the international economic conditions that are becoming more and more unfavorable our people's economy is developing in the direction set by the congress and that even implementation scheduled for the period is not consistent with the targets of the plan in every respect, essentially we have succeeded in fulfulling the cardinal requirements in the last 2 years -- improving the equilibrium of our economy and maintaining the achievements that determine the living conditions of the population -- and we have advanced on the path of socialist construction, even if at a more modest pace than previously.

"Unfortunately," he said, "prospects are not too reassuring for the prospective fulfillment of the current year's plan. Difficulties concerning disposal of commodities on the world market have continued to increase and prices have changed in a way which in itself causes serious losses to countries with similar endowments to ours. This is only one source of our problems. The other is the fact that we have not been able to improve the structure of our industry to the degree necessary for us to offset the difficulties caused by market factors. The third source of our problems is the drought that is affecting agriculture, which has considerably reduced the harvestable bread grain yield. And considerable losses have been incurred also in sugar beet, sunflower, and potato production.

"Although we are making great efforts to explore supplementary resources, it can be regarded as certain by now that the national income will be smaller than we had envisaged. To maintain the internal equilibrium and international solvency, we have had to tighten requirements toward enterprises and -- although we would have liked to -- we have not been able to avoid the unforseen increases of consumer prices.

"In the situation I have outlined, it has become more of a pressing requirement than before to accelerate the intensification of our economy, modernize production, and enhance exporting ability, which will only be possible, however, if we participate even more vigorously in the international division of labor, primarily in socialist economic integration. CEMA will continue to play the most important role in our international economic relations. From the viewpoint of the retention of our economic stability and our development, our cooperation with the Soviet Union has, if viewed separately, a determining significance.

We have made relevant proposals and will continue to recommend on our part that we should explore additional possibilities for expanding barter trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries even in the current 5-year plan period. Along with this, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, we regard as necessary and strive for an expansion of our existing trade with the developing countries and the advanced capitalist countries as well.

"It has been and remains a fundamental issue of the development of economic cooperation under CEMA," stressed the chairman of the Council of Ministers, "to resolve in the long term the member countries' secure fuel, energy, and raw material supply. On the part of Hungary, we welcome any initiative that furthers this. For this reason, as well as others, we regard it as highly significant that the session has put on the agenda tasks pertaining to a cooperation to be accomplished in the area of economical management of fuel, energy, and raw material resources. This theme is very important for us the reason that -- as is known -- our natural resources are limited. The increasingly greater costs of expanding raw material and energy sources for a long time have been inducing us to intensify efforts making it possible to reduce the specific utilization of raw materials and fuels. We have worked out and are implementing a special program for this purpose.

"For the implementation of our energy conservation program, we have earmarked some 12 percent of the industrial investments in our current 5-year plan. Through the measures that have been taken to date, we have seen to it that the increase in the energy being used did not amount to even 1 percent in the last 2 years, and that, calculated per unit of the national income, it has diminished by 4.5 percent. We can point to similar but somewhat more modest results in using materials more economically and in the implementation of the program aimed at the utilization of byproducts, wastes, and secondary raw materials."

He spoke with appreciation about the function of the CEMA countries' unified electricity systems and provided information on the position of the construction of the Paks nuclear power plant and experiences of the operation of the first 440 megawatt bloc.

"Like the speakers preceding me," Gyorgy Lazar continued," I, too, can note that we attach extremely great importance to the program of measures whose purpose is to enable us, through their implementation, to create prerequisites for supplying the member countries' population better with agricultural and food industry products. We agree that a reassuring solution of the issue is becoming more and more urgent from both a political and an economic viewpoint.

"As far as we are concerned," he said, "beyond covering our internal requirements, in the past years we strove to contribute to satisfying our CEMA partners' requirements in agricultural and food industry products. This is borne out by the fact that in the turnover of the members among themselves, the rate of Hungarian deliveries has increased almost threefold between 1975 and 1982 in this group of commodities. We have laid the foundations for this increase by the development of socialist large-scale agriculture that involved a very great intellectual and material input.

"Supporting the program, we deem it necessary to stress that also in this area we can progress only through taking mutual interests consistently into consideration, notably, if we realize the strategic importance of agricultural and food industry products and take cognizance of the fact that raising agricultural and food industry production onto a modern standard comes close to, or matches -- and, in some cases, exceeds -- the capital-intensiveness of the development of extractive industrial branches and calls for an industrial background with a well-functioning research and high technical standard and great expertise and organization."

He spoke about aspects of the creation of a modern material-technical base required by agriculture and the food industry, as well as their role, and stressed: "Under these cirumstances we deem it particularly important that we should put economic conditions for the production and marketing of agricultural and food industry products on realistic foundations as soon as possible." At the end of his speech Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, called attention to the importance of making thorough preparations for the coordination of the 1986-90 plans and of completing correlations in good time, and declared that the Hungarian delegation is in favor of the adoption of the documents submitted to the session.

Nicaragua's Ruiz Speech

LD202004 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2143 GMT 19 Oct 83

["From the Speech by Henry Ruiz Head of the Nicaraguan Delegation" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 19 Oct (ADN) -- The young Sandinista people's revolution thanks the governments and parties of the CEMA countries for allowing it to attend this meeting particularly at this difficult time in its striving for freedom, sovereignty, and independence, Henry Ruiz said. He said, we came out of the darkness of the Somoza dictatorship 4 years' ago, a regime known for its brutality and for its subservience to North American imperialism. We liberated ourselves in an open and determined struggle. The 150,000 injured and 50,000 dead are the real expression of this liberation struggle.

Henry Ruiz added: We created the foundations for fulfilling the economic tasks. We replaced the backwardness of parasitic big land-ownership with land reform, illiteracy with education for the masses, and the greed of transnational monopolies with the nationalization of our country's natural resources. As a country of predominantly agricultural production, we set ourselves the task of giving industry the place that it deserves owing to its importance and the tradition of our country. In the 4 years of its existence the young Sandinista people's revolution has made investments in the food industry and in the economic and social infrastructure in order to reactivate the economy and overcome its one-sidedness, he said, stressing, our people speak and feel for the revolution.

History and experience of life have made us aware, the speaker said, that a revolution that does not defend itself, that does not learn to defend itself, is no revolution. That is why we have created the necessary organization for the defense of the revolution. In view of the attacks by the enemy and because American imperialism does not desist from regarding Central America and particularly Nicaragua as before as natural part of its political, economic and military sphere of power, we respond to these attacks and the presumptuous idea of wanting to destroy the young Sandinista people's revolution by arming the people and learning to master with them modern forms of combat. The Sandinista people's revolution with its democratic and anti-imperialist character was the result of the Nicaraguan people's struggle and striving for freedom and justice. For this reason Nicaragua advocates peace and supports all initiatives which could lead to general or partial disarmament.

At present the military aggression against his country is characrerized by a further escalation of the attacks an impudent conspiracy and cooperation between Somoza mercenaries, regular troops of the Honduran Army and U.S. military presence in Central America, as well as control and unlimited support by the U.S. espionage headquarters.

Henry Ruiz continued: These conditions, despite the great solidarity granted to our people -- and we would particularly mention the socialist countries in this respect -- have led to a growing process of foreign indebtedness and to an extraordinarily complicated situation with regard to our solvency. This made solidarity action by the peoples and countries of peace and social progress urgently necessary.

Nicaragua's cooperation with CEMA has great prospects. Henry Ruiz stressed in this connection: The strong potential of our natural resources and the creative force and determination of our people are without doubt elements that create the possibility for broad commercial, economic and scientific-technological cooperation with the CEMA countries.

That is why it is absolutely necessary to link projects of common interest with the goal of promoting Nicaragua's economic development and with the real possibility of expanding its export capability. Experiences in cooperation with the socialst countries have shown that there are great opportunities for complementing each other. Nicaragua is trying to deepen its cooperation and wants to use the opportunities that multilateral cooperation in CEMA offers.

Honecker Reception Participants

LD201404 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2010 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Berlin, 19 Oct (ADN) -- The SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council, and Council of Ministers gave a reception on Wednesday evening for the participants in the 37th CEMA meeting. Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, cordially welcomed the delegations from 18 states in the Great Hall of the Palace of the Republic. The gathering, which opened with the GDR's national anthem, was also attended by other members of the party and state leadership.

Present with Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph at the reception were" members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Hermann Axen; Werner Felfe; Joachim Herrmann; Werner Krolikowski; Erich Mielke; Guenter Mittag; Konrad Naumann; Alfred Neumann; Harry Tisch; Paul Verner; Werner Jarowinsky; Guenther Kleiber; Egon Krenz; Inge Lange; Guenter Schabowski; and Gerhard Schuerer; the president of the National Council of the National Front, Professor Lothar Kolditz; Deputy Chairmen of the State Council Dr Manfed Gerlach, Gerald Goetting, and Dr Ernst Mecklenburg; Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers Manfred Flegel, Hans-Joachim Heusinger, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, Dr Hans Reichelt, Rudolph Schulze and Dr Gerhard Weiss, the GDR's permanent representative to CEMA, and Dr Herbert Weiz; and other members of the SED Central Committee and the Council of Ministers and other public figures.

Dascalescu Meets Honecker

AU201103 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin AGERPRES 20/10/1983 -- During the call on Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, by the participants in the 37th meeting of the CEMA Session, Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu conveyed the leader of the GDR cordial greetings on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu. Erich Honecker thanked and requested that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed warm greetings.

Interview With Strougal

LD202351 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] At the close of the 37th CEMA session CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal replied to questions from Czechoslovak journalists in Berlin. Asked first whether the present international political situation had any influence on the course of the 37th CEMA session, Comrade Strougal answered as follows:

[Begin Strougal recording] Yes, of course it did. I would say that it was the specific feature of the proceedings of this 37th session of the Council, because the situation is well known: The NATO states -- even though we do not know for certain how the talks in Geneva will turn out -- are preparing for the deployment of medium-range missiles on the European territory of the NATO states, and of course these serious steps have their repercussions for us. This is to say that the heads of the delegations, prime ministers, declared clearly in the adopted document -- and this is also what I said on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government -- that we are prepared to take the kind of measures that will ensure identical and equal security for the Warsaw Pact states if the missiles are deployed on the territory of the NATO states. We would carry out such measures, of course, in close collaboration with the Soviet Union and with the other allies who join in those measures. So I would say that this was the new and fundamental trait, because the question of peace and of ensuring peaceful relations and conditions for coexistence and cooperation is a fundamental question upon which depends the implementation of all the other measures that we discussed in the economic sphere. [end recording]

To the second question, on what kind of findings or tasks for our economy do we bring back from this 37th session, CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal replied:

[Begin Strougal recording] The questions that we discussed must, of course, be seen in the context of those programs or those problems discussed at the previous session of the Council. We discussed two basic issues: in brief, the rationalization in the sphere of saving metals, raw materials, and energy, and the second issue was the provision of people in the member-sates with food, that is, the so-called food program, as we call it.

Very important findings resulted from this for us, because each of the countries has been doing something in this sphere in recent years. Particularly on the first issue, rationalization of savings, we have been working toward trying to obtain further resources, although we have already taken the first steps toward rationalization; that is, the current 5-year plan, as you know, has set annual savings of energy of 2-3 percent, and in metals, savings of 4-5 percent annually.

But we have learned here many findings from the viewpoint of new technologies, which are already in use in the member-countries and which we would like to use within the framework of cooperation specialization in order to boost the implementation of these programs because, of course, savings in these spheres are far more effective than trying to obtain new resources of oil, coal and other energy sources, iron ore, and so forth. So from this sphere, from the program which, I would say, follows from a number of issues -- the construction of nuclear powerplants and so forth, which have been discussed at this session -- from all this stem a number of practical findings, which on a multilateral or bilateral basis we are now going to develop and strengthen in Czechoslovakia not only in 1984-85, but also in the rationalization programs for the years 1986-90, and even in the 1990's they will occupy first place.

There are several modern technologies in the world which we have not yet assimilated in Czechoslovakia.

As for the second issue, the food program, this runs right from, shall we say, primary production through to the final processing of the end-product. Here I believe there is also a considerable amount of experience both in Czechoslovakia and in the other countries of the Council, which we ought to utilize and which we have agreed that we will utilize. I believe that especially in the sphere of equipment, whether agricultural equipment relating to primary production, or food industry technology, including packaging, including a number of new products with avrious chemical and other natural additives, these questions are very important for enhancing the range of our foods on the market and for improving supplies to the population, although even during the present year 1983 we have seen a certain improvment. But we must continually compare ouselves with the rest of the world. And when our citizens go to some of the Western countries they always see that the food market there is, so to speak, much more varied from the viewpoint of meeting the requirements of the consumer, and much fuller; and I believe we have a realistic chance of changing this situation, of improving it very quickly, and thereby of satisfying the demands of the population smoothly. Here, of course, we cannot act on our own; we must act in international cooperation, whether on a bilateral or multilateral basis. Whoever wants to join us, well, we will be glad to come to an agreement with him, so that we do not have to do it all, as they say, on our own on a small scale, because it is done more efficiently in multilateral or bilateral cooperation. [end recording]

Baybakov at Planning Session

LD202042 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1805 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 20 Oct (ADN) -- The 31st session of the CEMA Planning Committee took place in Berlin on 20 October. It was attended by the chairmen of the central planning bodies of the CEMA countries. The GDR delegation was headed by Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission. The chairman of the meeting was the USSR representaitve, Nikolay Baybakov.

The Planning Committee dealt with the multilateral agreement on construction of the Krivoy Rog mining and processing combine, and discussed the present state of implementation of a number of multilateral agreements concluded in the past. The meeting took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Declaration on Arms Race

LD201631 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1441 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 20 Oct (ADN) -- The text of the declaration by the premiers of CEMA countries is as follows:

The prime ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Hungary, the SRV, the GDR, the Republic of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, the PPR, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the USSR, and the CSSR, who met at the regular session of the CEMA in order to discuss current issues relating to reciprocal economic cooperation, believe that in the present tense international situation there is a need to express the concern of their states in view of the continued drastic escalation of the arms race, particularly in the nuclear sphere.

Today the arms race has accelerated to an unprecedented extent. The United States and some of its allies do not even disguise the fact that by their actions they are striving for military supremacy. Steps are being taken to further aggravate political confrontation. The positions of the military-industrial complex, of the most reactionary military forces, are being consolidated. The war psychosis is being agitated.

Their plan to begin in the near future with the actual deployment of new American medium-range weapons in a number of West European countries is particularly dangerous.

The prime ministers therefore appeal to the governments of all states in Europe and the world in order to draw their attention to the disastrous consequences of this policy. This would undermine European and world peace, intensify the threat of a nuclear inferno and would inflict serious damage on the economic and social situation of mankind as a whole. International economic relations would come under severe strain because:

1. The renewed escalation of the arms race would entail a further considerable increase in states' arms expenditure and -- to the detriment of the people's standard of living -- would tie up even more material and intellectual resources for nonproductive purposes. The economic problems that many countries in the world are facing would grow even more and new obstacles would be placed in the way of their solution.

2. Inflation and unemployment would increase in many countries. This would have a negative effect on the situation of the working masses.

3. The intensified pace of the arms race would reduce opportunities for effective aid to the developing countries, in which three-fourths of mankind live. In their socio-economic development they would encouter far greater obstacles than is the case even today. That is the harsh reality.

4. The prospects for a new international economic order would be significantly worse if international tensions continue to increase and the danger of a nuclear war grows. the distortion and the instability of international economic relations would increase to the detriment of all nations.

The premiers declare their countries' readiness to cooperate with all states in Europe and the world, with all peace-loving forces in order to prevent a further escalation of the arms race.

This is the most important task of our time. Hence, broadly-based mass movements are campaigning courageously and determinedly for the removal of the danger of a nuclear war and for disarmament. All our efforts must be directed toward these ends. Only this path leads to truly flourishing development for all peoples and for mankind as a whole.

The premiers stress the topical relevance of the comprehensive initiatives contained in the Warsaw Pact Prague Political Declaration of 5 January 1983 and in the Moscow joint declaration of the highest representatives of the parties and states of seven socialist countries of 28 June 1983. These proposals are aimed at removing the danger of a nuclear war; stopping the arms race, above all in the nuclear sphere; and at disarmament and detente. They declare that the policy of the socialist countries is and remains aimed at these objectives.

At the same time they are prepared to examine proposals from other countries that are in accord with the interests of peace and the security of the peoples.

The premiers urgently appeal to the United States and the other NATO states to weigh seriously the dangerous consequences that would arise from the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, and to work toward an agreement that is in the interests of peace in Europe and in the world. Such an agreement must provide for a renunciation of the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and a corresponding reduction of existing medium-range nuclear weapons, with the stipulation that the missiles to be removed must be scrapped, as the Soviet Union has proposed. This agreement must be based on the principles of equality and equal security, must promote the stability of the military-strategic situation and must preserve the correlation of forces.

The premiers express their hope that the other European states will contribute to the success of the Geneva negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe.

They are convinced that there is still a chance to reach an agreement at the Geneva negotiations. If, however, no agreement has been reached by the end of the year, it is necessary to continue the negotiations for the sake of an agreement. But this presupposes that the United States and its NATO allies dispense with the deadlines that they themselves have set for the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles. Under these conditions the Soviet Union is prepared to continue to observe the unilaterally declared moratorium for the medium-range missiles sited in the European part of its territory, and thus to continue the unilateral reduction in such weapons that began with that moratorium. The premiers stress that the Soviet Union is thus making an important contribution to the creation of the preconditions for a successful conclusion of the negotiations.

Reason must triumph. The decisions must be made in favor of world peace, of security and of cooperation between the peoples.

Possible Bloc 'Countermeasures'

LD202225 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2121 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, Oct 20 (TANJUG) -- Participants in the special meeting of the Warsaw Treaty defence ministers pointed out that all must be done on the basis of the stands contained in the Prague Declaration early this year and of a proposal by Soviet state and party chief Yuriy Andropov made on last June 28 so that the siting of (?U.S.) missiles in Europe be prevented. This was announced last night, Thursday, after the president of the Council of the State of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker. [word indistinct] participants in this meeting.

It was not said what (?agenda) of this announced meeting contains, but well-informed circles believe that the defence ministers, together with the Warsaw Treaty commander Gen Kulikov, are considering the questions related to the siting of Soviet nuclear missiles in the German Democratic Republic and in Czechoslovakia. The "counter-measures" of the Warsaw Treaty (?are) being taken concerning the siting of U.S. missiles in Western Europe.

Executive Committee Meeting

LD202102 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1806 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 20 Oct (ADN) -- A meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee was held in Berlin today.

The session was attended by the representatives of the heads of government, the permanent representatives of the countries in the Executive Committee, and by the secretary of the Council. The GDR was represented by Deputy Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Gerhard Weiss.

The representatives of the Republic of Cuba, C. Rafael Rodriguez, took over the chairmanship of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee dealt with questions relating to the implementation of the measures decided upon by the 37th CEMA Session.

The work of the Executive Committee passed in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely cooperation.

Stoph Closing Address

LD201850 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1501 GMT 20 Oct 83

["Speech by Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Willi Stoph at the Conclusion of the Meeting" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 20 Oct (ADN) -- The speech by the chairman of the 37th CEMA meeting and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, Willi Stoph, at the conclusion of the meeting has the following text:

We have concluded the work which we set out to achieve at the 37th meeting of CEMA. The protocol of the meeting has been signed and the other documents of the meeting have been approved. The agenda of our meeting included tasks of great current and future significance. It can be noted with satisfaction that in future we shall cooperate even more closely in the economic and rational use of fuel, energy, and raw material resources, including secondary raw materials.

Significant measures have been agreed in order to deepen our cooperation in the field of foodstuffs production. In this way we have reached decisions that will contribute to accelerating the process of intensification both in industry and in agriculture, determinedly and in the interests of further economic and social progress.

Allow me, at the end of our meeting, to express satisfaction that our discussions took place in the spirit of true friendship and internationalism.

All points on the agenda, all problems were discussed in deep understanding of the commonality of the main aims and tasks of the parties and governments of our countries and with mutual respect for the interests of each individual country.

The comradely and at the same time principled approach of all delegations to the questions discussed, and the friendly atmosphere, also made my task of chairman of this meeting easier.

For that reason I would like to warmly thank all heads of delegations, delegation members, and the specialists accompanying them for their fruitful contribution to the successful course of the 37th CEMA meeting.

I would also like to thank in all our names the Executive Committee and its chairman, as well as the other committees and the CEMA Secretariat for their work. Our thanks are also due to all those who took an active part in the preparations for and course of our discussions.

Finally, allow me to affirm to our honored guests, the representatives of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Laos, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Nicaragua, and of Socialist Ethiopia, our allegiance. We are happy about the high regard they have expressed regarding our experiences in cooperation and regarding the work of CEMA. I thank you for your participation and your contribution to the work of this meeting.

I wish all of us creative strength and success in our common work and I would like to express the certainty that we shall fulfill as well as possible the tasks set at this meeting to the benefit of our peoples, to strengthen socialism and to strengthen peace.

TANJUG REPORTS PACT DEFENSE MINISTERS' MEETING

LD201823 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Berlin, 20 Oct (TANJUG) -- A special meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Committee of Defence Ministers opened here in Berlin today, Thursday.

The meeting is attended by the defense ministers of Bulgaria Hungary, Poland, Romania, The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces, Marshal Viktor Kulikov.

Results of Meeting

LD201910 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1808 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 20 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council and of the National Defense Council, received in Berlin today, on the occasion of the extraordinary meeting of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee, the members of this and other leading military figures within the joint forces.

Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of defense, who chaired the Defense Ministers Committee session reported on the successful course of the discussions.

Those attending the meeting agreed, on the basis of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee Prague Declaration the joint declaration of the leading representatives of seven socialist countries on 28 June 1983, and the latest Soviet peace initiatives, that everything must be done to prevent the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe and to thwart the attempt by the most aggressive circles of imperialism to attain military supremacy.

It was stated that the allied armies will continue vigilantly to ensure the protection of peace and the inviolability of the borders of the countries of the socialist community and of the achievements of the fraternal peoples.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, who conveyed cordial greetings from Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, expressed thanks on behalf of the delegations of the fraternal armies for the hospitality and good working conditions provided.

Together with the fraternal peoples and their armies, the Soviet Union and its forces will do everything to preserve peace on earth. Together with the socialist fraternal armies, the Soviet Army is always prepared to carry out its internationalist duty to ensure the reliable protection of the achievements of socialism.

Erich Honecker expressed the full agreement of the GDR party and state leadership with the questions dealt with at the Defense Ministers Committee meeting. He paid tribute to the work of the glorious forces of the USSR and of the other fraternal armies of the socialist community. Thanks to their vigilance, their constantly high combat power and and combat readiness, they have been influential in ensuring that the peoples of Europe are enjoying the longest period of peace.

Erich Honecker reported on the initiatives and achievements of the workers and soliders of the GDR who are creatively implementing the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress, which are aimed at the welfare of the people and the securing of peace. He drew attention to the high level of activity of all citizens of the GDR in the construction of a developed socialist society, in the strengthening of the country's defense capacity and the innumberable demonstrations at which the workers of the GDR have expressed their desire for peace, as well as their opposition to the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles and to a new round in the arms race. The general secretary pledged that the GDR will continue, in total agreement with the peace proposals put forward by the socialist states, to do all in its power to prevent a war ever emanating again from German soil.

Peace is and remains the state doctrine of the German workers' and peasants' state, a doctrine that no one can call into question, Erich Honecker said. Hence the GDR -- in its concern for peace -- at the same time fully supports those issues created by the situation arising in Europe that have been discussed at the extraordinary meeting of the Defense Ministers Committee. Erich Honecker asked the defense ministers to convey his cordial greetings to the general secretaries and first tsecretaries of the communist and workers' parties of their states.

RADIO REPORT ON REAGAN PRESS CONFERENCE

AU201122 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] In a regular press conference held in the White House today, U.S. President Reagan again attacked the Soviet Union and emphasized that the Soviet Union had been making great propaganda efforts to hinder the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe. According to the assessment of the news agencies that have reported on the U.S. President's press conference today, the U.S. President remained true to this already well-formed style and resorted to threats, (?unrestrained) formulations and lyrical monologues.

FILIPOV-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM CEMA SESSION

AU202011 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] On 20 October the Bulgarian delegation led by Comrade Grisha Filipov that took part in the 37th CEMA session returned from Berlin. At Sofia airport the delegation was greeted by Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Georgi Yordanov; Grigor Stoichkov and Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers; BCP Central Committee department heads; government members; deputy ministers; and Egon Rommel, GDR ambassador in Bulgaria.

VARNA DRUG SMUGGLING SEMINAR ENDS 20 OCT

AU201948 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Varna, Oct 20 (BTA) -- The first international seminar for combatting smuggling organized by the Bulgarian Customs Administration and the Customs Cooperation Council (CC) ended here this evening. It was attended by representatives of 37 states and four international organisations of the five continents. The four international organisations are the Customs Cooperation Council, the International Drug Control Body, the EEC and Interpol.

In the course of ten days a review was made of problems related to combatting smuggling. A wide exchange of views was made to help the mutual assistance of the participant countries in finding out ever more efficacious ways and means of international customs cooperation in this field. The participants' assessment of the great use of this seminar was unanimous. As is known, at the 1981 CCC Varna session the idea to organize such a seminar was born. The proposal was made by the developing countries for which the problems of goods smuggling have a great impact on their national economies.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES ENGLAND'S LORD CARRINGTON

AU201947 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, Oct 20 (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, received Lord Carrington, the president of the "General Electric Company". During the talk stress was laid on the favourable development of the economic and trade relations between Bulgaria and Great Britain. The possibilities for activating the cooperation between the Bulgarian enterprises and the firms incorporated in the "General Electric Company" were reviewed. The meeting which proceeded in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere, was attended by Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade.

GANEV MEETS WITH GREEK FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICIAL

AU101035 Sofia BTA in English 1927 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, October 19 (BTA) -- Consultations of the Ministeries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Greece were held here from October 17 to 19. The Bulgarian delegation was led by Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy-minister of foreign affairs, and the Greek delegation - by Mr Karolos Papoulias [spelling as received] deputy-minister of foreign affairs. A wide range of topical international problems of mutual interest were discussed at the consultations and the state and development of Bulgaro-Greek relations were reviewed in detail.

In the analysis of the international situation the two sides expressed the grave concern of their governments over the growing threat for the world peace,proceeding from the course of confrontation and especially from the eventual deployment of new nuclear missiles in some West European countries, which will mean a new step in the arms race with dangerous consequences for mankind. Special attention was paid to the situation in the Balkans. Reaffirming the readiness of their countries to proceed with the efforts aimed at the consolidation of the climate of trust, understanding, goodneighbourliness and mutually advantageous cooperation with the states in the region, the delegations emphasized the topicality and importance of the idea of converting the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons, stressing that the realization of this idea would help consolidate peace and security in the region, would be a great contribution on the part of the Balkan countries to the healthifying of the international climate and an important step along the road towards gradual clearing of Europe from the nuclear arms, the two sides expressed the determination of their countries to work tirelessly for its practical realization.

It was stated with satisfaction that Bulgaro-Greek relations are developing along ascending lines imbued with mutual trust, understanding and goodneighbourliness, these relations are a significant factor for the consolidation of peace, security and cooperation in the Balkans and in Europe.

BALEV, OTHERS RECEIVE PORTUGUESE CP DELEGATION

AU161139 Sofia BTA in English 1603 GMT 15 Oct 83

["Interest Evinced in BCP's Experience" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Oct 15 (BTA) -- In accordance with the plan for cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Portuguese Communist Party, a delegation, headed by Dinis Miranda [spelling as received], member of the Political Commission of the CC of the Portuguese Communist Party, is on a visit to Bulgaria from October 10 to 15, 1983. The delegation of the PCP studied the BCP's experience in the organizational party activities.

The delegation was received by Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, who made the guests familiar with the main tasks the Bulgarian Communists and working people have to resolve at the present stage of implementing the decisions of the 12th congress of the BCP. The delegation has also meetings with secretaries and other active members of the CC of the BCP.

During the talks there was stressed the mutual striving to continue in the future to develop and deepen the relations of fraternal friendship, cooperation and solidarity between the BCP and the Portuguese Communist Party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

SWAPO LEADER NUJOMA DEPARTS 18 OCTOBER

AU181416 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 83

[Text] On 18 October Sam Nujoma, South-West African Peoples Organization [SWAPO] chairman, ended his visit to Bulgaria. He had visited Bulgaria at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee. At Sofia airport the guest was cordially seen off by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary. Prior to his departure Sam Nujoma made a statement to journalists during which he said that Bulgaria has always been in the front ranks of the countries supporting the peoples struggling against colonialism and neocolonialism. He pointed out that Bulgaria has an important role at the United Nations and in other international organizations, supporting the struggle of SWAPO for freedom and independence. "We had fruitful results with Comrade Todor Zhivkov," Sam Nujoma said. "We are grateful for the material, political, and diplomatic assistance rendered to our cause, which will be continued in the future," he declared.

BTA REPORT ON 'EXPERIMENT' IN AGCA INVESTIGATION

AU200755 Sofia BTA in English 2057 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Text] Rome, October 19 (BTA correspondent) -- Early yesterday morning an investigation experiment was carried out at the "San Pietro" Square in order to check on the evidence given by assassin Agca. The experiment was held under the control of the investigating magistrate Ilario Martella and in the presence of two Bulgarian investigators from the Chief Investigation Office. It showed once again that the Turkish terrorist is an impudent liar.

Agca, who in 1981 made an attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II and then defamed several Bulgarian citizens, was taken under heavy guard to the place of his crime. In reply to the investigators' question to show where precisely had he "met" with Sergey Antonov just before the attempt on the life of the pope, he pointed out at first one coffee-shop then another and, describing the latter, completely got mixed up.

Agca has already been accused of slander and of giving false evidence. In both Italy and other foreign countries there were collected many documents and eye witnesses' accounts disproving fully and wholly the slanders of the Turkish terrorist about the alleged participation of Sergey Antonov and other Bulgarians in the assassination attempt on the life of the head of the Roman Catholic Church. As has been revealed in the press, these "testimonies" of Agca have been suggested to him by the special services on orders from the central investigation agency. According to the newspaper UNITA, Agca has himself confessed this to his lawyer.

Yesterday's experiment of the investigation comes as a further proof that the so-called Bulgarian trail is a pure provocation, cooked in the West to serve the purposes of a ferocious anti-Bulgarian and anticommunist campaign.

DAILY ON IDEOLOGICAL ANTICOMMUNIST CAMPAIGN

AU201029 Sofia BTA in English 0843 GMT 20 Oct 83

["The Absurd of the New 'Crusade'" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Oct 20 (BTA) -- In an article in today's issue of NARODNA MLADEZH the doctor of philosophical sciences, Professor Angel Todorov, dwells on the dangerous intentions of the ideologues of anticommunism and militarism.

He points out that in the circumstances of aggravated and intensified ideological and political confrontation between the two opposite socioeconomic systems, the reactionary forces of imperialism are converting the foreign political concepts into military-strategic ones. The "crusade" proclaimed in 1982 against communism includes a broad complex of long-term attacks and measures in all spheres of East-West relations.

The author of the article stresses the special role the Reagan administration is playing in this campaign. The administration which is conducting its ideological attacks to grow into a genuine anticommunist and anti-Soviet ideological warfare, which has assumed previously unseen dimensions and brutality." [sentence as received] The author points out that the aims of the ideological warfare launched by the United States includes also acts of provoking the opposition in the socialist countries, strengthening of the pro-American regimes in the world, preventing the coming to power of national-patriotic forces, direct or indirect bribing of political parties, trade unions, press publications, religious and public organizations in other countries and so on. For the achievement of these ends the conservatives are proclaiming the military-and-strength factor for key factor in their foreign policy and through the arms race they make the military component the ruling one and the dominant one in foreign policy.

Professor Todorov points also to the great danger proceeding from exactly this conversion of the ideology into a tool for international law infringements, a tool of undermining the foundations of detente and for preparation of a world nuclear missile war. Thoroughly opposite is the stand maintained by the Marxist and Leninist parties, which are not afraid of openly comparing the ideas, the programmes and the concepts of scientific communism with the ideology of the bourgeoisie. While recognizing the historical inevitability of the ideological form of class struggle, these parties thoroughly reject such methods employed by the imperialists as are the ideological diversion, "the psychological warfare" and "the ideological warfare", regarding them dangerous and harmful to both the process of democratization of the system of international relations and the fate of mankind as a whole. The Marxist-Leninist parties and the member states of the Warsaw Treaty are conducting a consistent policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the states, a policy of cooperation in the sphere of information, a policy equivalent from an ideological and propaganda point of view to the programme for peace, international detente and peaceful co-existence.

ZHIVKOV PRESENT AT ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEE SESSION

AU201115 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] A session of the national jubilee committee on marking the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state was held at the National Assembly Hall in Sofia today. The session was opened and chaired by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the all-national jubilee committee. Georgi Yordanov, chairman of the Committee for Culture, read a report: The Results and Tasks of Further Marking the 1,300th Anniversary of the Bulgarian State.

In his report Georgi Yordanov assessed highly the programs for the celebrations on the 1,300th anniversary of Bulgaria. Cordial gratitude was expressed to Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, as chairman of the all-national jubilee committee, to the operational bureau of the national jubilee committee under the chairmanship of the unforgettable Lyudmila Zhivkova, and also to the public and creative organizations that participated in the preparations and celebrations of this jubilee.

In his closing speech Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke about the importance of the celebrations on the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state and assessed highly the permanent value of this historic event. He also assessed highly the work of the executive bureau of the national jubilee committee under the chairmanship of Lyudmila Zhivkova, and of the Bulgarian people, the worker's class, the working intelligentsia, and everybody who contributed to the realization of this national program.

A decision was taken to disband the all-national jubilee committee for celebrating the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

BULGARIAN-GDR ECONOMIC TALKS HELD IN SOFIA

AU170750 Sofia RABOTNICHESKI DELO in Bulgarian 13 Oct 83 p 6

[Text] The 20th session of the joint Bulgarian-GDR Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation opened in Sofia yesterday. According to the chairmen of the two sides of the joint committee, Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers -- on the Bulgarian side, and Dr Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of science and technology -- on the GDR side, this session plays a particular role in the long-standing mutually advantageous relations in the economic, scientific, and technological sectors between the two countries. The session is the first following the signing of "Basic Trends for Expanding and Intensifying Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation and for Further Developing Socialist Economic Integration Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the GDR for the Period up to 1990 and on a Long-Term Basis," which was signed in June 1983 between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Comrade Erich Honecker in Berlin.

The session will be devoted to present and future initiatives for implementing mutual agreements. Specific measures are being discussed for a development of relations in various national economic branches. Scientific-technical cooperation, the results of which will be aimed at an increase of quality and at raising the technical standards of production also presents vast opportunities.

Representatives of business circles from Bulgaria and the GDR are participating in the session. The ambassadors of the two countries -- Vulcho Naydenov and Egon Rommel -- are also attending the session.

Egon Rommel, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Sofia, gave a cocktail reception at the embassy last night on the occasion of the 12th session of the joint Bulgarian-GDR Committee of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

POLITBURO APPROVES ZHIVKOV VISIT TO ROMANIA

AU171928 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 17 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, Oct 17 (BTA) -- The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party heard an information on the friendly visit of the secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr Todor Zhivkov to Romania, October 6 through 8, 1983.

The Politburo of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party gave a high assessment to the talks held and the accords achieved between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Nicolae Ceausescu and expressed conviction that these will contribute to the further development, upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, to the cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist party and the Romanian Communist Party, between the two countries and peoples. The defining significance was emphasized of the agreements reached between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Nicolae Ceuasescu on the expansion of specialization and cooperation in manufacture, especially in mechanical engineering, power generation, the electronic industry, electrical engineering, metallurgy, the chemical industry and agriculture, and also on the diversification and development of trade.

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party paid special attention to the exchange of views between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Nicolae Ceausescu on some topical issues of the international situation.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP noted with satisfaction the determination expressed by Bulgaria and Romania, in close cooperation with the other fraternal socialist countries, to continue to make their active contribution to the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and the world.

Emphasized was the importance attached by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Nicolae Ceausescu to the position expressed in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, adopted at a session of the Political Consultative Committee in Prague, in January, 1983, and in the joint declaration of responsible party and state workers of the European socialist countries, adopted at a meeting in Moscow in June, 1983.

Underlined was the stand that efforts should be made for an urgent agreement to be achieved at the Geneva talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on non-deployment of new American medium-range nuclear missiles and respecting the principles of equality and equal security.

The Politburo of the CC of the BCP greeted the determination of ulgaria and Romania. Reaffirmed by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, to actively assist in the future the converting of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons, the strengthening of the relations of friendship, goodneighborliness and cooperation between the Balkan countries.

BULGARIAN, HUNGARIAN S&T OFFICIALS MEET

LD192057 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Text] Sofia, October 19 (MTI) -- Gyula Szeker, president of the Hungarian Technical Development Authority paid an official visit to Sofia from Oct 17 to 19 on the invitation of the president of the Bulgaria State Committee for Scientific and Technical Development. The two presidents determined topical aims of scientific and technical cooperation on the basis of document approved "main long-term aims of the economic and technical-scientific cooperation and socialist integration of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Bulgarian People's Republic," during the June 1983 meeting of Janos Kadar and Todor Zhivkov. Gyula Szeker and his Bulgarian counterpart approved the scientific and technical plan coordination for 1986-1990 and agreed to establish close cooperation in the implementation of development schemes in microelectronics, rational energy and material utilization, and biotechnology. Guyla Szeker met Todor Bozhinov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party CC Political Committee and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

BILAK INTERVIEWED ON FOREIGN POLICY, DISSENT

AU121707 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Oct 83 pp 1, 7

[Interview given by Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, to Mark Brayne, BBC central Europe correspondent, in Prague: "We Are Not Losing Our Certainty That War Can Be Prevented"; date not given]

[Text] Comrade Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, granted an interview in Prague to Mark Brayne, central Europe correspondent of the British radio and television company BBC.

[Brayne] What is your opinion on the consequences that will ensue from the NATO decision to deploy new intermediate-range missiles in Europe in the course of the coming winter for relations between the East and the West in general, and for the disarmament talks in particular? What measures is Czechoslovakia considering as a Warsaw Pact state, and as a so-called front-line state, in response to this act?

[Bilak] The ensuing consequences will be most unfavorable. Everything that we had succeeded in achieving through great effort during the years of peaceful coexistence is beginning to collapse. Figuratively speaking, for many years we have been jointly building a stadium where we wanted to jointly compete. Now, through the fault of the policy pursued by U.S. imperialism, this stadium is to change into a death-carrying, missile-firing range.

This is not merely a question of this year's winter. A completely new and dangerous situation will emerge here, a critical, long-term situation. A new armament round will be set in motion. Having learned from its historical experience, Czechoslovakia cannot look on calmly while new destructive weapons are deployed west of its borders. Czechoslovakia is fulfilling its duties, which emanate from the defense of the socialist community. We would be glad if this were unnecessary, if no disruption of the balance of forces would take place. We fully support the Soviet Union's effort to preserve equal security for everybody. We do not succumb to fatalism by believing that war is inevitable; and we are not losing our certainty that large forces exist that can prevent war and avert a catastrophe.

[Brayne] Czechoslovakia was frequently criticized for its approach to the issue of human rights and its critics claim that Czechoslovakia is not fulfilling the commitments it undertook in Helsinki, and which were reaffirmed in Madrid. What is your reply to this criticism?

[Bilak] The criticism of the CSSR is incorrect and not objective. A certain sin is dreamed up and it is then attributed to us. Czechoslovakia is fulfilling all international agreements and valid norms, as well as the commitments that ensue from them for Czechoslovakia. Every state has its own laws and these laws should and must be respected. The very issue of human rights, as it is presented by bourgeois propaganda, and regrettably, also by certain political representatives, is a great swindle. It harbors a cloven hoof in saying that the rights of those who want to exploit and suppress should be preserved -- that the right to interfere in other states' life should be preserved. Czechoslovakia has greater freedoms, it has a broader democracy than many other states whose representatives are criticizing us. True, we differ in one thing: in freedom for the majority, for those who want to build and create a new life, and not for those who would like to sponge off others, to disrupt. What of it, if somebody is dissatisfied? Is everybody in Great Britain satisfied?

Do you not think that it is a ridicule of freedom, of democracy and morality, that such a person as L. Walesa, who was striving for the disruption of his fatherland, Poland, and who was striving to unleash a fratricidal war receives the Nobel prize? This is a classic example of a reversal of values.

[Brayne] This year 15 years will have passed since August 1968. To what extent have the Czechoslovak bodies and the party succeeded, in your opinion, in healing the wounds left by that event? What influence do you attribute to the continuing domestic opposition against your policy?

[Bilak] You know that I was very close to the events that took place both before and after January 1968, and also after August 1968. Erroneous and false notions about Czechoslovakia are being stubbornly disseminated in the West. I myself originally thought that the counterrevolutionary forces had perpetrated such political-ideological and economic damage that it would take 5-7 years for the CPCZ and for our society to be consolidated. But today I can assure you that, for at least 10 years, Czechoslovakia has been a politically and economically stabilized and orderly state. The CPCZ has not only consolidated itself, it has also grown more stable and more powerful, and it enjoys great authority. No wounds need be healed. It is merely necessary to see to it that we do not grow indolent, that we do not forget the mistakes, and that we avoid new mistakes. Only those individuals are healing their wounds who have pangs of conscience, because they had let themselves be prevailed upon to go against socialism, against their own people. Actually, it would be ridiculous to speak of an opposition. There is no organized opposition in Czechoslovakia. True, there are some dissatisfied individuals. We are realists, not idealists. Everywhere in the world, and not only in Czechoslovakia, those who had been defeated, particularly the leaders, are as a rule dissatisfied. We too have such people, but this is not an opposition, as the West is preaching and constantly claiming.

[Byrane] Last month George Bush, the U.S. vice president, divided the East European states into categories of good and bad states, from Washington's viewpoint -- into states deserving a reward and states deserving punishment. Hungary and Romania are regarded as good states, whereas Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Bulgaria are bad ones. If we disregard the motivation that could have led Mr Bush to make such a differentiation, do you not think that (if we take into account the differentiation which, to a certain extent, exists in such countries as Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, or Poland) a situation still exists in which these states are increasingly drawing apart, instead of achieving a greater cohesion of all states of the socialist community?

[Bilak] When I read Mr Bush's statement, I thought that some sick, furious anticommunist must have written it for him. It is undignified, uncultured. It is a statement that can be made only by a person who has no knowledge of the history or culture of European peoples. The intention is clear -- to differentiate, to weaken, to split socialist countries. This has been going on for a long time, but it is the first time that such primitive methods have been used. According to Mr Bush, Czechoslovakia is bad and must be punished. When and how did Czechoslovakia hurt the United States, to make Mr Bush, vice president, hate us so? Is it only because we want to pursue our own path and not the American one? We do not take it amiss that neither the American Government nor the American people are taking the path of socialism. They are not yet ready for this. We are said to be less civilized than Mr Bush, but does Mr Bush know what civilization is? Does Mr Bush know that civilized people built gas chambers in which they burnt millions of women and children? That the "most civilized country of all" had been burning, for no reason at all, Vietnam by means of napalm, that it had murdered the people of My Lai, and is supporting the genocide of Palestinians and denying them their right to a fatherland? That is is preparing to destroy human civilization?

Does Mr Bush know at all that, at the time when only bisons were roaming America's territory, we already had the glorious Charles University on our territory, a university where Jan Hus worked, the same man whom Mr Bush is quoting, without knowing who had burned him at the stake and for what? It is a pure tragedy that the vice president of the largest imperialist state cannot distinguish values and does not know what is progressive, and what is reactionary. Otherwise, he could recall that even such a great thinker as Hegel had been guilty of an error in regarding France as an "empire of iniquity," merely because it was at that time more progressive than Germany. This too is historical experience, from which he could learn.

You ask whether the socialist countries are not increasingly drawing apart. I do not think so. Have they declared that they are renouncing socialism? In politics it is more important not to live in illusions, but to respect realities. It is only bourgeois propaganda that is claiming that the socialist countries are set up and develop according to a uniform, allegedly Soviet, pattern. This thesis is fundamentally wrong. Every socialist country builds socialism for its people, while simultaneously respecting its national and historic peculiarities and characteristic features. Are there perhaps no differences between the capitalist countries? Surely there are some features in which Great Britain differs from Denmark or Belgium, while all these countries belong to the same joint economic and military grouping? You call that democracy. If the same thing occurs in the socialist countries, you call it opposition. I will honestly tell you one thing, which you probably know anyway: The Soviet Union does not dictate any norms to the other states rallied in the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA on how they should live; it does not interfere in their internal affairs. But the whole world sees how grossly and imperiously the United States is dictating to others, and even trying to foist its policy not only on its allies, but also on nonaligned states -- as was recently testified to by U.S. President Reagan's statement at the UN General Assembly.

[Brayne] How do you see the prospects of improving tense relations between Czechoslovakia on the one hand and the Vatican and the Catholic Church in your country on the other, from the viewpoint of developments during the last 4 years, from the time when ex-Cardinal Karol Wojtyla became pope?

[Bilak] We are not interested in tense relations with the Vatican; neither is our oriented in this direction. We do not know why the Vatican is claiming the right to determine the kind of social order that Czechoslovakia should have. In the 15th century the Catholic Church burned our Jan Hus on the stake. Why, for what sins? Only because he defended human rights and wanted a church that was more just, only because he was against the selling of indulgences? Why, at the end of the 20th century is the Vatican claiming that right to prescribe who is to pray and how, and who is not to pray? Nobody in our country is being persecuted for his religious conviction. If a member of the Communist Party is brought to court, that is considered only natural; but if a member of the Catholic Church is brought to court, this is regarded as persecution of believers. The West knows very little about the true situation and position of the church in Czechoslovakia. We in our country do not have separation [odluka] of church from state. Make a trip through our country, any day, not only on a Sunday, and you will see that the churches are open. The socialist state is spending considerable means on maintaining the churches and the religious symbols; it is paying the clergy, it maintains six academy departments of theology; we have 18 churches, and all believers have equal rights. Man is free, he has the right to be an atheist or to adopt a faith that suits him.

Which state in the world would permit a church to attack the social order, to attack the state? Then why is this being demanded of Czechoslovakia? Our believers do not wish this. On the contrary, they support our socialist system. They prove this at work and also in other all-social campaigns, such as elections and so forth. Even the church does not want to pursue an antistate policy; but there exist forces which would like to manipulate our church into antistate policy. You should not forget that our people remember very well that it was precisely the Catholic Church that unreservedly supported for 300 years, during the dark ages, all those who were striving to destroy all that was national and dear to the people.

[Brayne] The last question concerns Czechoslovak-British relations directly. In view of the Prague visit of Mr Malcolm Rifkind, minister of state of the Foreign Office, how do you assess the possibilities of improving these relations under the current London Government?

[Bilak] It must be conceded that we used to have better relations than we have now. In a few days, 65 years will have passed since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our states. If they currently do not correspond to the needs -- I do not want to say that they have worsened -- we are not to blame. We have harbored certain illusions that, after the settlement of property rights, the British Government would show greater understanding. The CSSR wants, and strives, to live and cooperate with every state, including Great Britain, and to develop not only good trade and economic relations, but -- and this is most important today -- to jointly strive to save Europe and the world, to preserve peace. We do not interfere in your internal affairs. We are prepared for the improvement of our mutual relations, for their achieving a higher and more fruitful level.

POLEDNIK ADDRESSES SOCIALIST ACADEMY CONGRESS

LD161017 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Oct 83

[Text] The sixth Socialist Academy congress opened in Kladno today. (Miroslav Langr) reports on the 1st day of the proceedings.

After the ceremonial opening of the congress, delegates heard a congressional report on the activity of the organization during the past 5 years. The Socialist Academy created during this period good preconditions for the socialist intelligentsia, fulfilling its social role and thus increasing its share in the education of people. In the period ahead it wants to improve its work. Among those who spoke in the following discussion was Jindrich Polednik, head of a CPCZ Central Committee delegation and a CPCZ Central Committee secretary. He paid tribute to the work of members and lecturers of the Socialist Academy in disseminating scientific and political knowledge and in explaining the CPCZ policy and the program our society has set itself. Thus they contribute significantly to the socialist education of man, his working and social involvement. At the present time we are facing very demanding tasks, Comrade Polednik said. We are striving to switch our economy, placing it on the path of intensive development and to speed up scientific and technological progress. We want the possibilities of our economy, sciences and culture to be utilized as effectively as possible. At the same time we are living in a period marked by a very complicated international situation. Thus a great deal depends on how we succeed in mobilizing people and increasing their activity in fulfilling the 16th CPCZ Congress program and at the same time in ensuring the most fundamental right of man, the right to live in peace, Comrade Polednik said. He called on members of the Socialist Academy to devote even greater attention to these questions. Explaining the party's socioeconomic program and winning people to its implementation ought to be in the forefront of work. At the close of his speech Jindrich Polednik wished all those present successful fulfillment of all conclusions and tasks to be adopted at the sixth socialist Academy Congress. The congress resumed its work tomorrow.

MATERIALS ON U.S. MISSILE, NEGOTIATION STANCES

Lenschner Commentary

DW200743 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 17 Oct 83

[Guenther Leuschner's review of the past week's events]

[Text] Dear listeners, it gradually seems to be dawning on the politicians in Western Europe that the peace movement is more than just some sort of phenomenon which soon will disappear if it is only fought intensively enough with a mixture of hardness and defamation, with perseverance and propaganda, and, of course, if necessary also with police night sticks -- just look at Bremerhaven.

At the beginning of a week of actions by the FRG peace movement, in which on the first 2 days hundreds of thousands of citizens participated in thousands of rallies, demonstrations, vigils, and other events, the failure of all attempts to destroy this movement has been amply demonstrated. For this reason, in its latest issue the Hamburg weekly DIE ZEIT wrote that the peace movement has already changed the security-policy picture in the Federal Republic even if it doesn't attain its immediate goal -- the prevention of missile deployment -- and it has changed this situation for years to come. This is probably also why an FRG radio commentary said on the weekend that this movement should no longer be characterized as evil but that its arguments should be taken as seriously as those of the missile supporters. After all, the commentary siad, both groups involve merely different schools of thought about the best way to maintain peace.

Everyone wants peace, however, everyone is not agreed how this could best be done. That slogan has become popular among politicains in Western Europe. Of course, this is a method to divert attention from the point of the conflict. Even if nobody wants war -- can this also be said about the current U.S. Administration? -- policies can be pursued that endanger peace. If, as FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU reported over the weekend, 80 percent of the people interviewed in a new public opinion poll expressed criticism of the FRG Government's role in connection with the Geneva negotiations and charged that it had failed to make the co-called counterarmament unnecessary, then this is an example of a policy that endangers peace.

SPD Federal Manager Glotz has accused his government of preferring the deployment of destabilizing new missiles over a genuine possibility. This is exactly what thousands of Americans expressed to Washington over the weekend when they demanded in Denver, a center of the U.S. arms industry, that a halt be put to the arms race and that nuclear weapons arsenals be frozen. There is new and clear proof almost every day of the conviction of the vast majority of the people in the West that their governments believe that the arms race is more important than an honest search for negotiated solutions.

Just what are we supposed to think when Haig, the first secretary of state in the Reagan administration, stated in an interview that he never thought much of the U.S. zero option for intermediate-range weapons -- a zero option which, as is generally known, stipulated that the Soviet Union scrap all its weapons while the United States would renounce the Pershing II's but would retain everything NATO already has. In this interview, Haig said verbatim: I was against the zero option because I believed that we really wouldn't want it even if we could have it. So, an authoritative source is saying that for 2 years in Geneva, the Americans have been promoting a false goal for the negotiations -- a goal they themselves didn't honestly want. Two years of propaganda instead of honest negotiations -- this is the crushing decription of so-called U.S. flexibility.

Viewed in the light of such statements, the appeal by the Warsaw Pact states to the members of NATO and to all European countries only increases in significance. This proposal says that if no agreement is reached in Geneva by the end of the year, it will be necessary to continue the negotiations. However, this requires the United States and its allies to renounce the deployment deadlines they have set. After all, a time limit for the Geneva negotiations has always been a unilateral and basically coercive demand by the West. There never was agreement on this by the parties to the negotiations, and such an agreement would have been highly unusual indeed. There have never been such strict time highly unusual indeed. There have never been such strict time limits in any previous negotiations -- neither in SALT or in Vienna. If they had said 2 years and no more for SALT I, the agreement, which was based on 6 years of negotiations, would never have materialized.

Admissions such as those by Haig, according to which the United States had engaged in nothing but propaganda activities in Geneva for 2 years, make it even more imperative for such a logical matter as the negotiations to be continued, especially since nothing would actually change militarily in Europe. The Soviet Union is strictly abiding by its unilateral moratorium on intermediate-range missiles in the European part of the USSR. There would only be a change militarily -- and this owuld be a substantial change -- if NATO were to deploy new missiles and continue the talks only pro forma in the shadow of faits accomplis.

The meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states as well as Andrey Gromyko's visit to Berlin and his talks today with Erich Honecker centered on two major issues. The first and most important matter for us in still the search for every opportunity to prevent a new escalation of the nuclear arms race in Europe. Continuing the negotiations instead of rearming is the sensible road toward preventing the otherwise unavoidable alternative -- the sudden deterioration of the situation in Europe and throughout the world. If reason fails to prevail and if all the appeals recently made -- not least of all to the Federal Government -- remain unheard, then the socialist countries will have to take the necessary measures to prevent NATO's military superiority.

The fact not only that we prefer a thousand times the other road, the more sensible road, but that this road is also feasible and that negotiations are also possible under the most complicated conditions, was demonstrated some weeks ago by the outcome of the Madrid CSCE meeting. Still further proof is provided by what WIENER KURIER, a bourgeois paper, wrote. The paper wrote that the international significance of Austrian President Kirchschlaeger's state visit to the GDR lies in the fact that in this time of international tensions, it has been demonstrated that it is possible to have relations that are almost free of conflict between states with different social systems.

Those in the West who sometimes allege that the conflict between the big powers must automatically paralyze, so to speak, the overall East-West relations, are evading their own responsibility for ensuring peace. Neither Austria nor the GDR are doing this. Their successful effort for joint stands on the most important political issues is reflected by the results of Kirchschlaeger's visit and it lends importance to this beyond the borders of the two countries.

When Western commentators stress that both sides want to show very demonstratively how viable the principles of peaceful coexistence are, they are certainly not wrong. Kirschlaeger's words to the effect that the Austrian people are trying to live up to the task of peace based on their permanent neutrality and that the GDR is trying to do this within the framework of an economic, military, and political alliance -- these words express more than common interests because they also constitute an appeal to others. What can exist between the GDR and Austria can also exist between other states. However, this requires that those others, whoever they are, must do more for peace than simply to say that they also advocate it.

Reagan Remarks Reported

LD201230 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] According to President Reagan, the United States will start deploying Pershing II and cruise missiles in December. He told journalists in Washington last night that there will be no postponement. Reagan thus ignored the current Geneva talks as well as the worldwide demands for a continuation of negotiations. He strongly attacked the peace movement. Asked about the actions by the U.S. secret service against Nicaragua; Reagan gave his approval for CIA subversive activities, including recent bomb attacks. They were legitimate and representated the best way of protecting U.S. interests, the President said.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND On Missiles

LD201133 East Berlin ADN INternational Service in German 0251 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 20 Oct (ADN) -- NEUES DEUTSCHLAND prints a leading article on Thursday entitled "clarity and Warning in the Interests of Peace."

The official talks between Erich Honecker and Andrey Gromyko in Berlin are important both for mutual relations as well as in relation to the burning issues of world politics. They have shown again how close and unshakable the fraternal alliance between the SED and CPSU is, betweeen the GDR and USSR, and how dynamically and successfully it is developing. Both states were able to note that the meeting between Erich Honecker and Yuriy Andropov last May in Moscow opened up a new stage in bilateral relations and fresh prospects for cooperation reaching into the future. The goals of long-term cooperation, laid down until the year 2000, in science, technology, and production are being tackled briskly and are being implemented.

The meeting in Berlin at the same time demonstrates what interntional importance is attached to the fraternal community between our two states and peoples, which is deepening all the time. From this arises a complete concurrence of views and opinions on all topical questions of world politics. This in turn lends the statements made during the meeting on socialism's peace strategy great influence in the international arena.

It has rightly been stressed in international reaction that the talks centered on how the Soviet Union and GDR, together with the other socialist states, are doing everything conceivable to prevent a new round in the nuclear arms race, fraught with danger, which would be triggered off by the planned stationing of new U.S. medium-range missiles in the FRG and other West European countries. In view of the huge amount of propaganda expended by the imperialist side to confuse people and to distort the true facts about the problems of disarmament, the Berlin meeting is an important contribution to truth and clarity regarding the causes of the current threat to peace and the prospects for reducing the intensified threat of war.

The path toward a radical reduction of nuclear weapon arsenals is being blocked by Washington as a result of its pathological striving for world domination. This is what is behind the United States eagerness to destroy the balance of forces in Europe at any price by stationing Pershing II and cruise missiles.

In contrast to this, the Soviet Union has repeatedly declared its readiness not to site one more missile, one more aircraft, or one more warhead in Europe than the NATO states. It proposes to free our continent of nuclear medium-range missiles as well as of any tactical nuclear weapons at all.

The United States continues, however, to want to negotiate in Geneva only on how many Soviet medium-range missiles should be dismantled and how many U.S. ones should be stationed in Europe, in addition to the bursting nuclear arsenals which the NATO states already posses. As far as the two decisive basic issues arising from the existing partiy of weapons, namely the renunciation of the siting of new U.S. missles and inclusion of British and French nuclear systems are concerned, the U.S. position has not changed at all. This is the core of the problem.

"New," if not realistic on the one hand is, the U.S. plan not to site all its missiles but only a certain party of them in Europe and to site the rest "somewhere else," but naturally near the territory of the USSR. Under the motto "global limits," the United States reserves the "right" in this case to set up, in addition to the already existing forward-based U.S. nuclear systems, both in Europe and in Asia, just as many new medium-range missiles as are sited on the whole territory of the USSR. It is obvious that this is even more unacceptable to the USSR since the medium-range missiles present in the eastern parts of the Soviet Union stand in no relation to Europe at all.

"New," secondly, is Washington's absurd suggestion that the USSR agree to the siting of a certain number, for example 450, instead of the planned 572 new U.S. missiles in Europe and neighboring regions, and accept a corresponding reduction in the number of its own missiles. The United States would then be prepared to examine the question of the ratio of Pershing II and land-based cruise missiles. This cynicial proposal, too, is aimed at nothing less than to have the United States site new missles while the USSR dismantles existing ones. Equally questionable is the "newness," thirdly, of the United State's readiness to include in the Geneva talks, in addition to land-based medium-range missiles, also aircraft carrying medium-range nuclear weapons if the USSR first accepts the siting of new U.S. missiles in Europe and other regions. An agreement would encompass all Soviet aircraft of this kind but would exclude, at the United State's discretion, hundreds of U.S. aircraft in Europe and on aircraft carriers in neighboring waters, as well as all those of the NATO allies.

All these suggestions by the United States are, as their authors know, a propagandist smokescreen. They are supposed to reflect flexibility and put the blame on the Soviet Union for the negative outcome of the Geneva talks which the United States desires. The formula of "reduction through modernization," by the way, is also a trick by means of which the U.S. Administration seeks to create for itself a free hand to stock up on strategic arms and likewise to avoid an agreement at the negotiations in this respect with the Soviet Union.

At the Berlin meeting, the responsibility of Western politicians was stressed. A serious warning was issued to those who, against their better knowledge of the consequences of importing death-bringing missiles from the United States, are making themselves accomplices in a conspiracy against peace. Particular responsibilty is borne in this situation by the Government of the FRG, which is to be turned into one of the main countries for siting new U.S. missiles. Andrey Gromyko expressed the USSR's full support for Erich Honecker's letter to Federal Chancellor Kohl and the appeal it contained to reconsider any decision which would result in the USSR and other states being threatened militarily again from German soil for the first time since World War II.

The socialist states have offered a concrete program for improving international relations, arms limitation, and disarmament as an alternative to political and militiary confrontation. The proposed agreeement between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on the mutual nonuse of military force and on upholding peaceful relations, the commitment by all nuclear powers not to be the first to use such weapons, on a quantitative and qualitative freeze on nuclear arms, and on preventing the militarization of space could be important steps on the road proposed by the socialist states.

During their meeting in Berlin, Erich Honecker and Andrey Gromyko, aware of the seriousness of the hour, once again underlined that both states will continue to unswervingly do everything possible in the fraternal alliance, together with all political forces of good will, to ensure that mankind is preserved from a nuclear inferno so that men can live and work together in peace. To work for this is the order of the hour.

HONECKER TO VISIT CSSR FOR HUSAK MEETING 24 OCT

LD201907 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 20 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council will go to Prague on Monday [24 October] for a meeting with Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR. Erich Honecker has thus accepted an invitation from Gustav Husak.

REPORTAGE ON ENVIRONMENT MINISTER'S VISIT TO FRG

Reichelt Arrives in Munich

AU131722 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] Munich -- On Tuesday [11 Oct] Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister for environmental protection and water management of the GDR, arrived for a several-day visit in the FRG Land Bavaria.

He is honoring an invitation of Alfred Dick, Bavarian minister for regional development and environmental affairs. The visit goes back to an agreement made by Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman, and Bavarian Premier Josef Strauss.

At his arrival in the Bavarian capital Munich, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is accompanied by Rudolf Ruethnick, GDR deputy minister for agriculture, forestry, and foodstuff industry and forester general, and Ambassador Ewald Moldt, head of the Permanent Representation of the GDR in the FRG, was welcomed by Minister Dick and leading members of his ministry. Reichelt expressed thanks for the invitation and the cordial reception.

"I am certain", Reichelt stressed "that this exchange of information and experiences on the protection of the forests, which is linked with consultations of authorities and visits to institutes and enterprises, will be of use for us and, as I hope, also for the FRG.

It makes it clear that also in the field of environmental protection, with its great variety of tasks and projects, a further expansion of cooperation can be achieved if both sides have the serious will for that."

The visit underlines the readiness of the GDR Government to further develop cooperation with the FRG on the basis of peaceful coexistence. Reichelt stressed: "In our time, with the aggravation of the international situation, this depends above all on the political climate. It is very difficult to think of successful negotiations on the protection of forests and water with the newly deployed American Pershing II missiles and the cruise missiles on the territory of the FRG, not far from our state border." The preservation and the protection of life, of people in both German states, in Europe, and in the world must be of priority.

"Precisely that," the deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers continued, "is also the concern of the letter of our head of state Erich Honecker to Chancellor Kohl; is his request to once again examine the view on the deployment of American missiles and give the continuation of the negotiations priority over the intensive armament; is his offer that all who want to prevent a nuclear catastrophe unite in a coalition of reason; is the unreserved readiness declared by him to support any step, enter onto any path, constructively examine any idea which bring us closer to a safe peace in Europe and serve world peace? The socialist states are ready for a further cooperation of that kind." Precisely that is also clearly underlined by this first official visit for the purpose of an exchange of information and experiences in the field of environmental protection.

Bavarian Minister Dick expressed his pleasure that Hans Reichelt accepted the invitation for the visit to Bavaria. His country is looking forward to neighborly relations. This of course applies in particular where joint matters, matters concerning both sides, are at stake, one of which is today above all the protection of environment and nature. Dick referred to the fact that for years an intensive dialogue has also taken place in this field with Soviet scientists and politicians, and that will be continued.

After the welcome a first, very comprehensive and businesslike exchange of experiences took place with leading members and experts of the Ministry for Regional Development and Environmental Affairs concerning the manifold tasks of environmental protection in both German states, which centered on experiences, measures, and tasks for the protection of forests. In the late afternoon Reichelt visited laboratories and systems for environmental supervision in the Bavarian Office for Environmental Protection.

Protection Accord Signed

LD130328 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1625 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Text] Munich, 12 Oct (ADN) -- An "Agreement Between the GDR Government and the FRG Government on Settling Questions Connected With the Discharge and Treatment of Effluents for the Town of Sonnenberg for the Improvement of the Quality of the Water of the River Roeden" was signed in Munich today. The agreement was signed for the GDR Government by Dr Folkmar Fenzlein [name as received] head of the GDR delegation in the GDR-FRG Frontier Commission, and for the FRG Government by Imrgard von Rottenburg [name as received], head of the FRG delegation of the Frontier Commission. Present at the signing for the GDR were Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister for environmental protection and water management, and the head of the GDR's permanent mission in the FRG, Ambassador Ewald Moldt, and for the FRG, Dr Friedrich Zimmermann, interior minister, and Dr Karl Hillermeier and Afred Dick, Bavarian state ministers.

The agreement specifies the FRG's share in financing the construction of plants for effluent disposal and treatment for the town of Sonnenberg, which is to be built by the GDR by 1987. This will improve environmental and living conditions for the population on both sides of the frontier between the GDR and the FRG in the region of Sonnenberg (GDR) and Coburg (FRG).

At the signing the GDR reaffirmed the opinion that the will to understanding and readiness for an equal balance of interests is the condition for reaching the agreement. The agreement could be an example for the development of mutually advantageous businesslike cooperation in other areas affecting the environment if the FRG, too, fulfills its responsibility for the preservation and consolidation of peace. Following the signing, Dr Karl Hillermeier, Bavarian deputy prime minister, gave a dinner for the GDR delegation.

Dr Friedrich Zimmermann, FRG interior minister, who is also responsible for environmental protection matters in the Federal Republic, had a meeting this morning with Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister for environmental protection and water management. The talk centered on questions of joint interest connected with cooperation in specific areas of environmental protection.

Dr Rudolf Ruethnick, deputy minister for agriculture, forestry, and food, and general forester of the GDR, had a meeting with Simon Nuessel, Bavarian state minister for agriculture and forestry, for an exchange of experience on the protection of forests and the measures necessary for this.

Strauss Receives Reichelt

AU161437 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Oct 83 p 2

[Text] Munich -- On Wednesday [12 Oct] Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss received in his residence in Munich Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water management of the GDR, who is in Bavaria for a visit of several days. Hans Reichelt conveyed to the Bavarian premier greetings from Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, which were reciprocated. The meeting was attended by Ambassador Ewald Moldt, head of the Permanent Representation of the GDR in the FRG.

In the course of the businesslike and open talk, Hans Reichelt stressed that as a result of the meeting between Erich Honecker and Franz Josef Strauss the cooperation between the GDR and the FRG in the field of environmental protection has developed positively. As proof of that, he mentioned the government agreement on the quality of the water of the Roeden River. It proves that results can be achieved if both sides seriously strive for that. Similar results could also be achieved for the Werra River and other projects. Both sides spoke out in favor of further developing the exchange of information and experiences on important problems of environmental protection.

Both politicians also discussed topical questions of preserving peace and stressed the usefulness of the talk. Strauss stated that in accordance with an invitation of the GDR, a Bavarian delegation headed by Minister Dick will visit the GDR in the near future for an exchange of information and experiences on questions of the protection of forests.

Reichelt Visit Ends

AU171914 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15/16 Oct 83 p 2

[Werner Otto report]

[Text] Munich -- At a press conference in Munich [14 Oct], Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water conservation, assessed as useful the exchange of information and experiences about environmental protection problems which took place during his 4-day visit to the FRG land of Bavaria. The visit which was concluded on Friday and which is the outcome of an agreement between Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, and Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss, as well as the government agreement on the protection of the water in the Roeden River area which was signed in Munich on Wednesday, make it clear that results in environmental protection can be achieved if both sides negotiate and make decisions earnestly.

Further negotiations about projects of common interests, among others on the Werra and Elbe Rivers, were discussed in talks with FRG Interior Minister Dr Friedrich Zimmermann, Dr Reichelt said.

The two sides agreed to continue the exchange of information and experiences. Alfred Dick, Bavarian state minister of land development and environmental problems, has accepted the invitation to visit the GDR, Dr Reichelt said. All this helps to further normalize the relations between the GDR and the FRG on the basis of the principles of the peaceful coexistence and of a balanced adjustment of interests in the interest of the citizens of both German states. In view of the exacerbation of the international siutation, the talks also dealt with ensuring peace, Dr Reichelt underscored.

On Thursday Dr Reichelt examined environmental protection in several Bavarian institutions and enterprises.

MILITARY REGISTRATION OF WOMEN REPORTED

DW200951 Bonn DIE WELT in German 17 Oct 83 p 5

[Text] Dresden/Berlin (EPD/GKO) Since September the various military area headquarters in the "GDR" and East Berlin have also been registering women for military service in the "National People's Army", police alert units, and the "GDR" Border Troops. Women in the medical profession and with communications systems experience are mainly affected.

Information from East Berlin to this effect has now been confirmed by the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the "GDR". Martin Ziegler, head of the church federation secretariat, reported this weekend on such developments during a public question hour of the Dresden meeting of the Saxon Land Church Synod. According to a report from those involved, a total of at least 10,000 women have been registered. Ziegler pointed out that the new "GDR" military service law of 25 March 1982 permits the registration and drafting of women. Registration is compulsory for them only during times of mobilization, and at present they can refuse it, he said.

MSZMP'S KOROM ON REORGANIZATION OF DISTRICTS

LD181431 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 2025 GMT 13 Oct 83

[Studio interview with Dr Mihaly Korom, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Gyorgy Balo -- live]

[Excerpts] [Balo] Good evening. You are a doctor of law, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. What decides who will present, who will submit, a proposal of this kind on the abolition of country boroughs?

[Korom] Among other things I deal with in the Central Committee issues of public administration and state life, legal life. And its how I came to be chosen, how I came to be entrusted with submitting this topic to the Central Committee, with the authorization of the Politburo.

[Balo] What do you mean by "among other things"?

[Korom] Apart from the issues of public administration, council and state administration issues, I also deal with the party control and I help the work in such areas such as the Armed Forces, the internal organs and security organs. And I say it quietly, I also deal with sports affairs, which also belong to my sphere of jurisdiction.

[Balo] Why do you speak so discreetly about this; why don't you speak about sport?

[Korom] Because there are not many laurels for Hungarian sports nowaday, especially for soccer, and this issue interests our whole public opinion, including you and me, I think. What is the situation; when will we get out of the present state? I think we will see better days.

[Balo] Now let us turn to this proposal on the abolition of county boroughs. When and why did you begin to deal with this topic?

[Korom] The topic is not new. We dealt with this matter before when the issues of the comprehensive modification of the Constitution were on the agenda, that is, a good 10 years ago. Then, however, we arrived at the conclusion that it would be premature to take the steps on which we have now decided. This last decade was definitely necessary for the parishes' role of selfgovernment to develop better, together with their independence, also in the economic, material and financial sense.

[Balo] While you were preparing this topic, where did you go, and with whom did you speak?

[Korom[Well, in the last 10 years I have dealt with many sides of this topic and spoken about it with many leaders and nonleaders. I spoke with parish people, party and council people, county borough people, country people, central comrades. So I obtained very wide-ranging information on this topic. I will say that by the time I had mulled it over the time had come for us to submit a proposal for the abolition of the county boroughs as units of public administration.

[Balo] Our diagram here shows that in the 3,004 parishes altogether 1,394 parish councils now operate. Of these, 679 are independent, 715 are so-called joint parish councils, to which belong a further 1,610 partner parishes. Joint councils operate in altogether 2,325 parishes, and if we add to this the 679 with independent councils, then we are back to the 3,004 parishes. Now, what is the justification for this proposal to abolish the county boroughs?

[Korom] Well, briefly, it is this. I would like to stress that this is not the result of some sort of reorganization mania, this submission and this proposal. But we were of the view that the county boroughs, as public administration units, have fulfilled their calling, their function.

[Balo] For several centuries.

[Korom] The county boroughs were created in Hungary several centuries ago. But social development, economic development and, as I have just said, the increased independence of the parishes, all these circumstances have brought it about that there is no need now for this intermediate, middle tier in public administration and in administration in general. Therefore, their abolition is not only possible, but we are of the view that it is also definitely necessary.

[Balo] Now what will take their place?

[Korom] Well, our main objective -- but I stress this is a long-term objective -- is to create a two-tier public administration. In other words: counties, towns or parishes, that is, and settlements. But these are long-term ideas, because we are of the view that the situation is not yet ripe for us to introduce in one full swoop the two-tier public administration. For this reason there is a need for an intermediate link or stage which does not perform the function of county borough offices, but there is still a need in administration, in authority work, for us to introduce between the counties and the settlements -- particularly the parishes -- an organization that will assist in the management of the whole county. On the one hand these are the already existing towns, that is to say, to these belong parishes in so-called regions of attraction, and apart from these there will be also some big parishes which sooner or later will get urban rank. In other words they stand on the threshold of being declared towns, if the conditions are right, of course. And the county administration of the lower link, of the smaller parishes, will happen with the intervention of the towns that exist already or are to come into existence.

[Balo] In other words, districts will be created.

[Korom] In point of fact, we will create districts, but I would like to stress that it is not a question of simply repainting the nameplates. Because, if that were all that was to happen, that would be very bad. Then there would not be much sense in the whole reorganization. We also expect from the reorganization -- and this is very important -- that the independence of parishes will further grow and strengthen, along with their role of people's representation, self-management, and state administration, so that we would bring administration -- and this is a very important principle of ours -- as close as possible to the population. Affairs would be administered where they originate. We will definitely be able to assert this in general, as a main rule.

[Balo] It follows from this that perhaps we can risk the question of whether in the long run these newly created districts are of temporary, transitional character.

[Korom] I dare say that in the long run they will be transitional. This will be so in the long run because those parishes which will now link up with towns or with large villages possessing urban rights will in time develop and become more urbanized, so to speak.

[Balo] So, if the National Assembly accepts these recommendations, then this is what Hungary's new map of public administration will look like from 1 January 1984.

The thick red lines denote the county boundaries, the names of towns encircled in red denote towns, such as Tata here, which will become district centers. Those towns, four altogether, which are indicated here, are towns without a natural sphere of attraction, thus they are towns but will not become district centers. There is also a large village here in our example which will create a large village district; thus this is a large village which has not yet received the status of town but will, nonetheless, be a district center. Finally, here are large villages marked with yellow: These are large villages under the direction of the county. These will not belong to districts in the future either. What is very important on this map is that you can see the green lines, the lines which are slightly narrower than the county boundaries, which denote district boundaries. Will people be informed about which exact district they belong to?

[Korom] Yes, naturally. The district boundaries, let us call them that, to be seen on the map here are not final yet. These are not yet finally determined matters. However, these are areas which have been discussed with the relevant county organs and bodies and which have been drawn up taking their recommendations into consideration. However, the final decision on this matter will be brought in during the remainder of the current year, naturally by the central state organs.

[Balo] Let us now look at this in terms of figures. If the National Assembly approves this, from 1 January 1984 there will still be 19 counties; there will not be any county boroughs; there will be 97 towns, of which 4 will not have their own districts, in other words they will not be district centers. These are Budapest, Hajduboeszoermeny, Szaszhalombatta, and Turkeve. There will be the new district centers, comprised of 93 present-day towns and 43 large villages, in other words, 136 districts instead of the previous 83 county boroughs.

[Korom] Yes, that is correct.

[Balo] This means that on average a district will be smaller than a county borough has been to date.

[Korom] Yes, that is correct.

[Balo] Thus, it cannot happen that many people will have to travel longer distances to settle their various affairs.

[Korom] No, this will not happen. It is very important to stress that these, let us call them district centers, should be developed by the relevant authorities in such a way that they take full account of the natural environment, the area of natural attraction, so to speak, as well as the demographic situation and, let me stress, historical traditions and factors relating to supplies, transport and all those other factors that must be taken into consideration in the interests of the population when developing these districts.

[Balo] What will be the tasks of these district centers? Will they be in a position of authority over the villages?

[Korom] That is a very complex matter in Hungarian public administration. This is so in the sphere of the councils as well. I would like to stress that since the councils have a triple function -- they are organs of representation and of state authority, of self-government, and of state administration -- the relations of subordination or partnership are not the same. The parish councils, in their capacity as organs of representation and state authority, are not subordinated in the true meaning of the word to the council of the new district center. However, there is subordination to the extent that if, say, the parish councils were to bring in measures contrary to the Constitution or to the laws -- after all, they have the authority to bring in their own decrees -- then the superior councils can nullify these measures; in fact it is their duty to nullify them. However, as organs of self-government they are not subordinated to each other.

[Balo] The district center does not, however, decide how much a village in its district receives from the budget or how much state subsidy it receives.

[Korom] No, the district center does not decide that. This is something that is decided at county level. It is the duty of the county council leadership to ensure that the county develops in a balanced, proportionate manner. In other words, the parishes do not receive the funds, that is the funds relating to central subsidies, from the counties through the district centers; rather, they receive these funds directly.

[Balo] And what will happen with the county borough administration apparat?

[Korom] At present 3,500 people work in the county borough offices. Earlier there were far more, but with the gradual reduction in the functions and role of the county offices and with the decentralization that has taken place in public administration in the past few years and decade, it is natural that staff numbers in these county offices have also gradually declined. Well, it is our belief -- and I myself share this conviction or view -- that the tasks which will now be handled by the district centers can be done well with a work force which is about one third smaller than the present one. This means that approximately 1,000 posts will be eliminated. Let me add something here. When we say that public administration should become more effective, quicker and less bureaucratic, it is also necessary to have a better trained and, certainly, a better paid apparat.

[Balo] Are you saying that when people move from the present county borough to the parish council apparat, they are likely to receive more?

[Korom] Certainly more than at present. The central government is not taking away the wages fund, the sum which, because of the posts which will be abolished, will be at the disposal of the counties; rather, the sums will be devoted to the purpose you mentioned.

[Balo] And what will happen about the party apparat? There are county borough party committees, I should imagine, with full-time party workers.

[Korom] Yes, this is so. Well, the party apparats and the county borough party committees will also be abolished. I think it is not necessary to go into lengthy explanations to explain that the reorganization of public administration also involves change in regards to the county borough party committees and organizations. The Central Committee took the view that from 1 January when it abolishes the county borough party committees and the posts which will thus be eliminated, our comrades who have worked very well, who are still working well, and on whom we are counting in the future as well, just as in the case of the state apparat, will reinforce the urban party committees and the party committees of the large villages which enjoy the same status as the towns.

[Balo] Let us look at how all this will function in practice; Laszlo Szuecs made reports on the tasks of the future district centers of Budaoers and Tatabanya:

[Begin recording] [Szuecs] In fact the abolition of county boroughs started in 1975-76 Tata. What kind of experiences have you had since then?

[Unidentified local official] We have had good experiences. As a result of these measures, the situation of our villages has changed for the better. This is what people also have said at several forums. Official matters of the people are now administered in those settlements that are also centers for other demands like jobs, shopping, culture, health service, etc. [end recording]

[Balo] Was there anything new in this report for you?

[Korom] It has reinforced my belief that the stand of the Central Committee was right. But I would like to add one thing. I am very glad to hear this, but I would warn all of us everywhere in the country that we should have no illusions. No miracle will happen here from 1 January. This reorganization and the new system of administration will get on track gradually. But these examples, experiences we heard about right now, reassure us that we are progressing in the right direction.

[Balo] The process of depopulation of villages has stopped in Hungary, too, and we can hope that people are returning now. The question is whether villages will be more independent; will they have more opportunity?

[Korom] They will be definitely more independent, and they will also have more opportunity. And if people feel well in their home place, then there is no need to go to the cities, although they can enjoy more civilization in cities, but this is only a temporary thing. If they earn well and they find what they want, why should they not live in the village. As we often say, the villages' capacity to keep the population has [word indistinct] increased.

[Balo] This also means that they will be able to decide how to use their resources, does it not?

[Korom] Definitely so. Self-governmental independence means exactly this. The population is also more willing to give if they know that it serves their good, as we heard in the Tatabanya report. The money is not leaving for several destinations, but it is used locally, and material contribution is very much needed. To build, to develop the local community is a beautiful task worth working for.

[Balo] May I ask: Where are you from?

[Korom] I am from the village of Mindszent in Csongrad County.

[Balo] This village is going to be under direct county supervision. If you go home and people ask you what is the meaning of the change, what will you answer?

[Korom] At the moment Mindszent belongs to the Szentes County borough. Now it will be directly attached to the county. It will not yet acquire the title of town; it will remain a large village, and it has no district attraction around it. But historical circumstances, the number of people living there and other conditions justify it being an independent parish. Those official matters which are now managed by the county-borough council -- I stress -- will be managed mostly in these villages, whether they are district centers or not. Inhabitants of Mindszent and of other villages as well will have to travel less.

[Balo] This is not insignificant with the present fares.

[Korom] Yes, this is not insignificant. Local councils will get these powers.

[Balo] The old word for parish board [eloeljarosag] is now used again. Why?

[Korom] The renewed use of this term is justified by certain experiences, by certain demands. When the council system was created and the first general council elections took place in 1950, elected councils were created in about 3,000 villages.

Later in the process of the modernization of the administration, in a certain period, we cherished administration too much, and elected bodies disappeared from small villages, from those called now associate villages. Joint councils were created. Citizens in those villages rightly say: Why are we stepchildren, why has our village no council?

We do not want to return to the previous situation, because it would have several corollaries. I do not want go into detail now, but accepting the correct demand of the citizens so-called parish boards will be created at the next elections. Their head will be the chief [eloeljaro]. The codification of the powers of the parish boards is now in process. These boards will also have representative functions; they will represent the interests of the parish, and will organize community life. Members of the parish boards will sit in the councils of the district centers. These councils have to be convened if parish board members propose it. Their proposals must be put on the council's agenda. The council must review every decision that is objected to by the parish board of the associate village. These are the representative functions. The boards or the chiefs will also have local administrative functions. They will decide the opening hours of local shops, they will provide the distribution of social aid and will make decisions on questions of local development.

[Balo] As we can see on the map, this change concerns 1,610 associate villages, with 715 joint councils, that is more than half of the total villages. So this is not an insignificant change.

[Korom] Exactly.

[Balo] This has now led us to our second topic, namely, the new draft electoral law. This, too, was submitted by you to the Central Committee session in July, that is to say, some 3 months ago. This was then followed by a wide-ranging public debate which was reported by various television programs, including "TV Newsreel" and "The Week." We have compiled from these reports a brief series of views to remind us of the debate:

[Begin recording] [First unidentified speaker] We must change our concept or tactics according to which we present ready-made ideas to the population. Many ideas should be presented, debatable ideas should be suggested, and instead presenting carefully sifted material we should come out with open-ended proposals. I believe this to be the most important point. We should now be able to live with the idea of being voted down, of debates and also with the raising of difficulties which in the past has only been done to a lesser extent.

[Second unidentified speaker] Every political system must strive to ensure that the structure of society, indeed, all the class, strata, professional and opinion structures of society are represented. So, where in our society do we have a problem of this kind? Well, this concerns the existence of certain central concepts on the need for reflecting this structure; however, these are in contradiction with the individual constituencies. Why should this be so? Simply because those who happen to live in a particular constituency and want to cast their votes cannot understand why they should vote, in that particular case, for a woman who also happens to be young and who is a textile worker. This is understandable from the point of view of statistics as viewed at the center, but, from their own perspective, it is not comprehensible and this gives rise to the contradictions. [end recording]

[Balo] What is your view of this so-called statistical perspective?

[Korom] Naturally, I am opposed to the statistical perspective. I would like to say in reply to what the professor has said here -- and, in general, there are problems with this statistical perspective, even though this is not a prescription made from the center and no one should think that it is -- that one thing is certain and will remain the same in the future, too.

That point is that whether we consider the National Assembly or the councils, as elected bodies representing the people, they must in their composition find expression for the class relations, strata and professional and occupational constituents of our society. In other words, both the National Assembly and the councils must reflect, through the deputies, and the councillors in the case of the councils, the real state of society which characterizes our whole society and public life.

[Balo] One would think that of all the changes proposed the most important is the stipulation that every area nominates two or more candidates. This holds the promise of being a great opportunity. But how can it be given real substance? In other words, in what way can there be a real alternative between the programs of two or three candidates?

[Korom] I would like to stress that the kind of alternative that existed in the past or that exists today in capitalist countries, which gains expression in the differences between the programs of individual parties, this is inconceivable in our country. We live and work within the conditions of a one-party system and will continue to do so in the future. However, as the professor emphasized in the film clip just shown, the same policy can be represented well or not so well. So, we cannot make concessions in the political or sociopolitical sense to allow the appearance of alternatives, such as whether we should have socialism or not. However, as I have said, a policy can be represented well, better or less well.

[Balo] Excuse me for interrputing. It can also be represented in different ways. There is no single road leading to salvation.

[Korom] Indeed, there isn't. There are many related interests between the strata because individual strata in the country may have different interests. This can appear within certain classes and even within the general national unity. This is natural. Even without speaking about individual interests, it is obvious that group interests and social interests may clash with each other. It is a very important task to provide expression for these and to bring them to the surface.

[Balo] Well, how is that going to work in practice? The National Assembly in Hungary has 352 deputies, and of these about 30 will be elected on a national list. In other words, each deputy is elected by around 30,000 people. Will it now become possible, for instance, to have a personal election campaign? Can I just go along and knock on people's front doors to ask them to vote for me because I will arrange for a bus stop or an ABC department store to be built in the locality?

[Korom, laughing] Well, I find it hard to imagine that the council or constituency candidate himself would go from door to door for this or any other purpose. However, what I can imagine -- and it is indeed desirable -- is that the Patriotic People's Front should arrange far more meetings with the electorate than in the past. These meetings between the candidates and the electorate should provide an opportunity for the latter to get to better know the candidates, to be able ask them questions and have discussion with them, to express their views and to present their suggestions and ideas. In other words, they can find out what they can expect from a particular candidate if he gets elected as a deputy or councillor. The nominating meetings already have this role. However, I must say that we or the citizens have considered up to now these nominating meetings in many places and many respects to have been something of a formality. So, if there are several nominating meetings, that in itself means -- to reiterate the point -- that the electorate gets a much better opportunity to get to know those who are nominated at these meetings, and one or the other among them will then get elected by the citizens' votes to parliament or the local council on the day of the elections.

[Balo] We have fewer than 5 minutes left of our program, and let me just note that you are rarely referred to by your title as chairman of the MSZMP parliamentary group in the National Assembly. I am not mistaken in this, am I?

[Korom] Yes, you are quite right, although, more correctly, I am its secretary.

[Balo] I apologize, indeed, you are its secretary. What do you expect, in this particular capacity of yours, from the life of the National Assembly? If I may ask the question, by what changes can the life of the National Assembly be made a tiny bit more lively and dynamic?

[Korom] I am saying with conviction that there is a need for less solemnity. The discussions and consultations of parliament should become far more businesslike. It is also conceivable that certain issues, whether draft laws or anything else that is submitted to the full session of parliament, should be presented, whenever that is feasible and practicable -- which may not always be the case -- in the form of alternatives. These alternative drafts could be submitted by either the government or individual ministers or those competent in the sphere.

We must also change the existing practice of question time. This is because what we have today can be called anything but its official title of "interpellations." All of us radio listeners, and especially television viewers who can also watch interpellations in parliament, know what happens, such as great lectures being given. This, too, must be changed. So -- how can I put it -- I cannot think of a better term than to say that the consultations of parliament should become far more businesslike.

[Balo] Yes, indeed, when one hears, watches or reads about the tough, stormy and real debates going on inside the committees of parliament, the full session of the National Assembly appears, by comparison, to be somewhat too well-groomed. It appears as though deputies are failing to use the opportunities made available for them by the rules of the house.

[Korom] This is precisely the case. As regards the rules of the house and the constitutional status and role of the National Assembly, I would say everything is fine. However, there are problems in their practical application. I would personally also expect that by making the multiple nomination of candidates a general practice, the kind of people who get elected will be better able to assert the businesslike activity we have referred to in the work of parliament.

Of course, in saying this, far be it from me to criticize or imply something bad about my fellow deputies. You are right, this should become similar to what goes on in the committees of parliament. Even in the committees the situation has not always been what it is today; we began a process with them and it has turned out well. Well, this is what we should now transfer in an appropriate way to the plenary sessions.

[Balo] No doubt we are often going to discuss these processes in the future. Thank you for coming along.

SZUROS ASSESSES INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

LD191344 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI) -- Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP CC, analysed topical questions of the international situation in a speech given at the Szolnok County Party Committee session, Tuesday.

Analysing the cause of the tense international situation, Matyas Szuros stressed: "The most serious problem is invariably that the armament race has further accelerated and no progress has been made towards limiting armaments. The fact that a genuine reply from the United States to the Soviet Union's proposals seeking reasonable compromise, has still not been put forward at the Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear missiles gives rise to particular anxiety. The end of the year deadline for the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe under NATO's so called twin-track resolution made in December 1979 is approaching and although the attitude of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries towards the planned deployment has been characterized by readiness for agreement, initiation, and consideration of the other party's position it has not brough a change in the position of the other side. The United States is attempting to upset the historical balance of military powers and is refusing to take into consideration British and French carriers at present talks.

"Another unfavourable development of recent months is that the danger of local hotbeds of tension to international security has increased. The Middle East situation, and the situation in Lebanon in particular, has grown exceptionally tense. The situation is similar in the Caribbean region as the United States keeps increasing its threats to Cuba and Nicaragua. With United States support, the counter-revolutionary forces seeking to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government, have stepped up action."

"Over the past few months however, simulaneously with such dangerous developments, the favouruable effects of earlier achievements of the process of detente and of mutual interests in continuing the process, have been felt. The majority of the bi- and multilateral agreements affecting East-West relations are in force and cushion attempts at sharpening tension. It is also possible that the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting and the programme adopted will give further stimulus to the Helsinki process.

"The deterioration of Soviet-American relations has not automatically been followed by a general freeze in East-West relations in recent months. No setback has occured in the relations of the Soviet Union and the majority of the Western countries and no adverse change in the contacts of the United States and smaller socialist countries, or the European capitalist countries and the socialist countries."

"The foreign political activity of the socialist countries, coordinated more frequently and effectively, works against the deterioration of the international situation, and the consolidation of the situation in Poland contributes to the improvement of their international position."

Matyas Szuros pointed out: "Considering the present characteristics and expected tendencies of the international situation, the countries of the socialist community are making a special effort of making the international public better understand their foreign political aims, and the causes behind their proposals and steps, as at the recent meeting of the Warsaw Treaty member states' Foreign Ministerial Committee in Sofia. The participants took the position that their countries would not permit a military imbalance in any way and would resort to approporiate counter-measures in response to the American missile deployment. At the same time they take every opportunity to confirm their readiness to hold the broadest possible dialogue and cooperation with every temperate and peace-loving force in order to curb the armament race and maintain the achievements of detente."

Matyas Szuros paid particular attention to the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting. The achievement of consensus proves that with good intention and the consideration of mutual interests, an agreement acceptable both for the Soviet Union and the United States, the socialist and the capitalist countries, can be reached even in the present tense international situation," he stressed.

Discussing the Madrid meeting and the significance of the closing document, Matyas Szuros stated that not even the anti-Soviet campaign fomented on the pretext of the incident of the South Korean plane could jeopardize agreement.

"In the past months, in its international activity our country has south to contribute -- commensurate with its possibilities -- to the suppression of the dangerous tendencies of the international situation and to the improvement of the external conditions of socialist construction. We have further strengthened our relations, intensified joint actions with the socialist countries and made considerable efforts to help maintain the East-West dialogue guided by the realization that a contribution to the maintenance of world peace and protection of the achievements of detente is of the utmost priority."

"The visit to Moscow of a party and government delegation led by Janos Kadar was an outstanding milestone in Hungarian-Soviet relations, which are of essential importance for us. The talks held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding confirmed the identity of our views on all fundamental questions of international politics and socialist construction."

"Recently, the advanced capitalist countries have been developing their relations with Hungary, and the main cause can be put down to our balanced international situation and fair initiating foreign policy pursued on a principled basis. It must also be taken into consideration that the neutral West European countries and the majority of the NATO member countries are expressing anxiety about the mounting tension and their limited freedom of international action, and do not wish to see a lessening in the benefits they have derived from East-West relations. It is therefore in their interest to foster and develop cooperation with the socialist countries. This intention was marked by Janos Kadar's talks in Finland, the visits of the French premier and the British secretary of state to Hungary, and by a number of Austrian, Swedish, FRG and Italian openings.

"An agreement led to the recent Hungarian-American talks," said Matyas Szuros. "Such meetings are a natural course of events between countries maintaining normal relations, and Hungarian-American relations cannot be excluded from our efforts for the practical enforcement of the policy of peaceful coexistence. The most important elements of the policy of peaceful coexistence are political meetings and definite contact."

"Our basic position is that we seek fair relations and cooperation with every partner who respects our socialist system, alliance and the self-respect of our people. At the same time we firmly reject every attempt aimed at using these relations to turn us against our allies.

"The Hungarian People's Repbulic intends to continue with its principled foreign policy even under the prevailing more difficult conditions and does not wish to diverge from generally accepted international norms. We are convinced that in the prevailing international situation dialogue is becoming increasingly more important," concluded Matyas Szuros.

VARKONYI RECEIVES INDONESIAN OFFICIAL

LD200947 Budapest MTI in English 0605 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI) -- Ardjantho Sumodisastro, vice-president of the House of Representatives of Indonesia, and his party visited Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi and then visited Hungarian Deputy Foreign Traade Minister Tibor Melega, in Budapest Wednesday afternoon.

TRYBUNA LUDU PUBLISHES MATERIALS ON PZPR PLENUM

Politburo Report

AU191100 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15/16 Oct 83 pp 2-4

["Text" of PZPR Politburo report entitled: "The Party's Ideological Tasks in Implementing the Line of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress," delivered by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 14 October session of the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] Comrades, at this Central Committee session we will deal with key tasks of ideological work, which is of primary importance in our party's struggle for implementing the line and program of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, for overcoming the causes and effects of the crisis, and for Poland's further socialist development.

The ninth party congress successfully defended the Marxist-Leninist character of our party. This congress mapped out the aims and lines of our activities.

While defending socialism, we ran into an acute struggle with the forces of counterrevolution. In the course of its persevering fight the party rallied its ranks and shook off its ideological and political weakness. We have gradually retrieved and continue to retrieve our strength in our onward march, accepting the challenge of dangers and solving the difficult problems of stabilization and socialist renewal.

What we need today is an in-depth ideological reflection to enable us to more fully evaluate the experiences of the past few years and to view them against the broader socialist prospects of our country. We should map out the tasks of strengthening the party and its leading role, of the further ideological-political consolidation of our ranks, of making a militant impact on the awareness of our socity, and of overcoming hostile and alien orientations.

It is not the first time that we are dealing with idelogical problems in the Central Committee forum since the ninth congress. We have dealt with the problems in various ways at almost all the Central Committee sessions. The sixth and, especially, the seventh Centeral Committee plenums dealt with the party tasks in the present acute class struggle in Poland and with problems of consolidating our ranks. We dealt with many important ideological problems at the plenum devoted to young people.

Ideological issues were also included in the decisions made by the Central Committee on socioeconomic affairs. On the strength of the 12th plenum evaluation of our sociopolitical situation we detailed ideological-political tasks for implementing the line of struggle and accord, for strengthening the state's structure, and for developing socialist democracy. The all-Poland ideological-theoretical conference of the party and the lively discussion of the programmatic declaration "What We Are Struggling for and Where We Are Going" played a crucial role in the process of the party's ideological invigoration. In his programmatic speeches the first secretary of our party has discussed many crucial ideological issues.

We will promote ideological activities in close connection with life and in accordance with the conditions in which we act and the needs of the struggle we continue to wage. Short-term activities degenerate into blindly marking time if they are devoid of ideological prospects.

Relating long-term visions to a profound analysis of reality and strategic assumptions to tactical tasks belongs to the Leninist tradition of our movement.

Polish Social Revolution Constitutes a Mature Historical Breakthrough

We are about to usher in socialist Poland's fifth decade. Next year we will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation. The question of the place that these 40 years occupy in the history of our nation and state is of great importance. It is our party's undeniable accomplishment that the dramatically difficult and long struggle for Poland with social justice, for a Poland that is forever to form part of Europe, has been historically resolved.

It was the PZPR and the progressive and democratic forces that cooperated with it that were able to interpret properly the turn that events had taken; that found and charted the only correct path leading to liberation and the rebirth of an independent Poland within just and secure borders, a Poland developing in a system that ensured revolutionary social transformations and the advance of civilization, a Poland playing a role to be reckoned with within the socialist community of peoples and in the system of peaceful order in Europe.

The implementation of the program of national and social liberation, the establishment of popular power of workers and peasants, the regaining of the western and northern territories, the restoration of the country following terrible devastation, industrialization, agrarian reform and modernization of the countryside, the educational revolution and dissemination of culture, the advancement of millions of working people and, above all, the creation of conditions for the construction of a society based on social justice -- all these are incontrovertible accomplishments, the source of which is the creative ideas and activities of the party of the workers. The Polish social revolution in the mid-forties constituted a mature and epoch-making event: It grew out of Polish soil, out of the progressive trends in our history. It was not geopolitics, but a historical process, the most vital interests of the nation and the state and aspirations of the working people that combined to result in the victory of that revolution.

The anniversaries of Karl Marx this year bring to mind the significance of the ideological and theoretical breakthrough created by the appearance of scientific socialism in mankind's social thinking. These anniversaries have coincided with the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement, which became the vanguard of the masses' aspirations to liberation and created Marxist-Leninist prospects for these aspirations. It was on this basis that the victorious program of deep political and socioeconomic transformations was developed, implemented, and verified by the irrefutable facts.

It is true that the course of socialist transformations in our country was not free from errors and setbacks. We are not passing over them in silence. The profundity of the self-critical appraisal of the sources and the causes of these errors and setbacks, made by our party, especially during the sixth Central Committee plenum in 1980, during the ninth congress and in the report of the Central Committee commission approved by the 12th plenum, is truly unprecedented.

It was not the alleged excess or lack of the ability to reform socialism but the serious deviation from socialist principles that were the reasons for the crisis. These deviations were particularly obvious in the violations of Leninist norms of party life, in the bureaucratic and autocratic distortions of socialist democracy, and in the neglect and simplification of ideological and educational activities. In economic policy voluntarism was responsible for an excessive extension of the investment program and for our economy's considerable dependence on capitalist loans.

The errors made were used by the opponent to carry out a frontal attack on the party and the system. All the achievements of the past 40 years were put in question. The indigenous genesis of the people's power was doubted, as were the correctness and the significance of the revolutionary social reforms and of socialist construction.

A sharp struggle flared up, revolving round the key problems of Poland's contemporary history. The struggle became one for Poland's system -- the shape it would take -- for its alliances and place in the class-ridden world. The opponent devastated the consciousness of a sizable proportion of the population, especially where the young generation is concerned.

We face the task of spreading the truth about the sources and revolutionary transformations of the past 40 years and about the significance of that period for Poland's destiny. The anniversary celebrations, the outline of which the Politburo will present today to the Central Committee, are to serve this goal.

The Party Has Been Equal to the Great Political Trial at the Beginning of the Eighties

Comrades, the beginning of the eighties placed our party face to face with a great political test. Without a doubt, history will justify the appraisal that the party has managed to cope with this challenge. The ninth extraordinary congress bears witness to this, first and foremost. This congress became the source of the healing process arising from the vital need for the identification of the party with the interests of the working people, from the awareness of responsibility for the security and international position of the socialist state. Party masses came to call this trend socialist renewal.

The workers' orientation, alive in the summer of 1980, which is best reflected in the slogan "Socialism 'yes,' deviations 'no,'" harmonized with these aspirations of the party. This opinion, bearing an essentially class character and summing up the chief sense of the workers' protest, became, however, the subject of manipulation such as cannot readily be found in our history.

Aggressive and antisocialist trends surfaced. They bore different characters. They touched upon various ideological and political traditions, frequently far removed from each other. The common denominator here was provided by hostility toward socialism.

Upon the subsoil of fanned-up social tensions, whipped-up emotions and doubts, attempts were made to reactivate anachronistic myths, and political concepts were compromised and cast aside by history.

The champions of anarchosyndicalism most easily found a common language with the advocates of rightist social democracy. The champions of Christian democratic orientation cooperated with the champions of the extreme leftwing. Nationalists went hand in hand with the advocates of cosmopolitanism. The negation of socialism was the element that bound together various forces -- from militant bigots through the Trotskyists. The plan to weaken the workers class' position, to disrupt it ideologically and politically, and to cut it off from class traditions and the ideology of scientific socialism was protected by demagogical slogans. The attack was concentrated against the party as the vanguard political organization of the workers class, without which this class could not implement its historical mission and achieve its vital interests.

Efforts were made to present the socialist state as a body opposed to society, especially to the workers class, which was subjected to intensive suggestions that it can achieve democracy and the rights and freedoms connected with it through actions against the socialist state. It was for this reason that the slogan "Independent republic" was proclaimed. Efforts were also made to anarchize social life and economy and, while unleashing social demagogy, to propagate the assertion that material prosperity can be achieved by pressure against the state. This assertion helped disarray production and social life.

All this went hand in hand with efforts to negate the fundamental principles of Polish foreign policy and Poland's place in the socialist community. Attempts were made to slander the alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the Soviet Union and to undermine the foundations of Poland's security and borders and the interests of the peace order in Europe.

The extremist forces linked to the imperialist centers succeeded in transforming Solidarity, which was to be a genuine trade union for most of its members, into a political movement with an antisocialist orientation.

Our party realized all these dangers, and we spoke about them in full voice. "There are limits that must not be overstepped," Comrade W. Jaruzelski said at the ninth party congress. "In the name of overriding reasons and when the situation warrants it, the power apparatus will be forced to resolutely observe its constitutional duties in order to save the state from disintegration and the people from a catastrophe."

There was no shortage of the party's good will and patience in the desire to abate the confrontational turn of events. Nor was there a shortage of resolve in the defense of the unshakable historical accomplishments of fundamental significance for national existence, the existence of the state.

The 13 December 1981 decision prevented a disaster, a fratricidal conflict of incalculable consequences. We have a right to say that the positive results of that decision which, after all, was not an easy one to make, and one that made us face numerous problems, are coming out in ever bolder relief today after the lifting of martial law.

Step by step, persistently and consistently, we are following the road for overcoming crisis, rebuilding the economy, renewing sociopolitical life. Popularization of the conviction that by joining efforts of all patriotic forces we will be able to achieve our goals is an important ideological front task.

We have behind us the dramatic struggle for saving socialist Poland's achievements and for the opportunities for its successful development. But the most difficult tasks are still before us. Our adversary has been repulsed but he has not laid down his arms. There are still people who, despite the fact that opportunities have been created for them to return to normal life, continue to participate in antistate activities. We will combat these activities with utmost resolution, showing at the same time understanding and patience toward one's vacillation, indecision, and doubts.

Imperialism's Aggressive Policy Is a Direct Threat to Poland

The adversaries with whom we have to deal are openly supported by the antisocialist centers in the United States and other NATO states. These adversaries have decided to serve as instruments of these centers in their struggle against Polish state interests, in the implementation of the strategy expressed by the slogan "The worse, the better," and in the attempts to aggravate the internal situation in Poland.

The adventurous forces of imperialism continue to wage propaganda aggression against Poland and to use economic pressure and political blackmail. The range of anti-Polish actions is extensive -- from open forms of discrimination through the specific policy of prizes and distinctions. We are being assailed around the clock by subversive radio stations trying to maintain the climate of tension and hostility around our country.

We have constantly been convinced that on the internal and the international planes the fronts of class warfare are closely linked. Even if the class opponent constitutes a very small minority -- even if he has a minute social base, he can cause a serious threat -- because his support is based on international forces of capital. In contemporary world conditions, in the period when strategic plans of imperialsm have been included in calculations concerning smashing socilaism from within, we cannot ignore or disregard this.

ON the international, global scale, imperialism caused the greatest accumulation of tensions and threats for decades. The forces of the anticommunist crusade -- with Reagan's administration to the fore -- negate the principles of peaceful coexistence between states of different systems, intensify the arms race, and impose an extremely dangerous direction for developments in the international situation.

The struggle between the two systems is being waged primarily for the basic direction of the development of international relations. Where is the world going? Toward confrontation, untamed armaments, and catastrophe, or toward dialogue, peaceful coexistence, and international cooperation? Saving the world from the threat of nuclear annihilation is a historical mission and the basic principle of the policy of the socialist community states. The indivisibility of socialism and peace, which is the result of the humanistic principles of our ideology, is fully reflected in the international militancy of the Soviet Union, Poland, and other fraternal countries. This indivisibility is illustrated by the initiatives and proposals imbued with good will and readiness to achieve reasonable compromises that are consistent with the principle of equal security of the sides. We reaffirmed our common stand at the Moscow meeting on 28 June 1983 when we once again stressed that "no world problems, including the historical competition between socialism and capitalism, must be solved through war."

Poland, which is building socialism and is bound in fraternal alliance with the socialist states, was, is, and will be a reliable element of the mighty front of the forces of socialism and peace in the world. We have reaffirmed this historic choice by defending socialism and repulsing attacks against the principles of Polish foreign policy and alliances. This is a contribution to the defense of peace.

The threats created by the aggressive policy of imperialism are of direct and special concern for Poland and our people. We must keep this before our eyes and propagate every day and at all times the understanding of the in-depth links between Poland's security and the cause of world peace, patriotism,and proletarian internationalism.

Anti-Sovietism was and is one of the main lines of imperialist strategy. In our counry some people have tried to demonstrate anti-Sovietism in perfidious and at times repulsive forms. Together with the party, the overwhelming majority of our people rejected these forms.

Valuable Assistance From the USSR and Fraternal Countries in Overcoming Our Difficulties

It is in the name and interests of our people that, inspired by patriotic and internationalist responsibility, our party is seeking to strengthen the alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the socialist states and peoples and to tighten concordant cooperation in the stuggle for peace and socialism and against aggressive plans of imperialism. We have particularly close ties of ideolgoical community and cooperation with the CPSU and the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. We have done a great deal in the past few months to tighten and develop these ties. We attach great importance to the activities of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and we are implementing the Politburo resoltuion in this connection.

The assistance, support, understanding, and trust of our comrades in the fraternal countries play a great role in overcoming our difficulties and in opposing imperialist pressure, economic blackmail, and ideolgoical subversion.

In particular, the experience of the past few years has proved how extremely important our cooperation with the USSR and the socialist countries and the development of economic integration within CEMA are for our economy. We regard the expansion of this cooperation as our long-term strategic task.

The community of the socialist states is based on the class unity of ideas and aspirations, which determines the importance of the ideolgoical cooperation among the fraternal parties as a means of getting to know each other and of utilizing experience in socialist construction.

Strengthening the Role of the Workers Class in all Spheres of Life

Comrades, socialism is a system which on the basis of public ownership of production means and planned development of the national economy eliminates exploitation of man by man and seeks to achieve an increasingly fuller realization of man's age-long yearning for social justice and comprehensive development of the individual.

The rich experience of the world socialist system proves that there is a multitude of forms, methods, and speeds for achieving that aim, and that this multitude is a result of differing historical traditions and conditions, differing standards of economic and cultural development, and of the international context. But the aim is the same. The general laws of this process are the same everywhere, while its specific solutions are varied.

Let us recall that the hegemony [hegemonia] of the workers class and its alliance with the working peasants, as well as the construction of the state that fulfills the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat are among the universal laws and principles of socialist building.

The abolition of capitalist exploitation, the establishment of public ownership of production means, the ever more effective meeting of the needs of the working people on the basis of the planned economy, the development of socialist democracy as well as of education and culture, the spread of the idea of socialism in public awareness, socialist internationalism. [paragraph as published]

Threats, created by the aggressive policy of imperialism, directly and in a particular way, concern Poland and our people. This must be constantly pointed out and made known, as must the deep links between the safety of Poland and the cause of world peace, as well as patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

In order to make revolutionary changes and to manage the construction of a new system, the working class must have as its vanguard a Leninist-type party. Without this it is impossible to build socialism.

In consultations held before the present Central Committee plenum the question of defining the present development stage in Poland caused much discussion. The simple formula cannot exhaust the assessment of the complicated reality of our country. One thing is certain: In Poland we have realized the majority of tasks of the transition period from capitalism to socialism. This indicates the existence of a permanent socialist structure in our economic and sociopolitical life.

Social solutions and safeguards have been introduced in many domains. These could be included in the phase of highly developed socialism. On occasions these solutions have outpaced our present economic possibilities. But there are also areas of transformations that are not advanced, but delayed. These are remanants of antagonistic class controversies. Thus, we are facing the phenomena of uneven socialist progress.

When attempting to determine the achieved stage of socialist transformations it is often forgotten that among the most important criteria for the maturity of socialism is a high, social productivity and a rationally organized economy. If the debate on the present stage of socialist transformations is to be of a genuine programmatic and practical political importance, it must fully take into consideration the necessity of raising productivity and efficiency of management.

Without this, even in conditions of domination of a socialized economic system, it is not possible to construct a highly developed socialist society. Making this point indicates what has to be done, above all, to achieve, in building socialism, real progress tangible to the working man.

Comrade Y. Andropov drew special attention to these problems at the June plenum of the CPSU, whose enormous and pioneering theoretical and practical experience should be utilized in the process of socialist construction.

This experience shows that the fundamental issue is to ensure cohesion between the activities of the party on the ideological, political, and economic planes. The increasing discrepancy between the ideological assumptions and the practical solutions in the sphere of politics and the economy constitutes one of the causes of the crisis we are experiencing.

A significant characteristic of the policy that collapsed in August 1980 was disregard for the role of ideology, treating it as a kind of decoration for political and economic practice. Such a stance is alien to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of a Leninist-type party. The time of tough trial has sharpened the picture. It has cleared the field of vision.

Today we can better see what was erroneous, illusory, harmful -- and what was correct, permanent, most important. Today we have a fuller awareness of the fact that the construction of a socialist community is a historical process of enormous complexity, requring the timely diagnosis and solution of contradictions, without allowing them to accumulate and become dangerous social conflicts.

Comrades, the supreme objective of the policy of the ninth congress is the consolidation of the leading role of the working class in all fields of social life. Socialism is transformed from idea to reality as a result of the struggle of the working class under the leadership of the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist party. The essence of the struggle is the ever fuller implementation of workers' interests, values, and aspirations. They most fully express the striving of all groups of working people. It is precisely for this reason that the working class gains for itself the support of the broad masses of the people. Our party represents such interests of workers and directs their implementation. That is the basic meaning of its social task.

The party has developed the ninth congress resolutions with the help of extensive, frank, and open discussions, in which the voice of workers, their party aktivs, and workers organizations was very well heard. There was no worker issue, problem, and demand that was not tackled in the discussion preceding the ninth congress and during the congress itself. It goes without saying, however, that not everything that was said correct and ripe for action.

This discussion mirrored all the complicated and varied views of the workers class, and it was precisely thanks to this that it was able to single out whatever is timeless, what combines criticism with a clear concept of aims, and what produces specific proposals devoid of emotions and bitterness.

The leading and serving role of the party vis-a-vis the workers class and the working people means that we should turn the multitutde of views and evaluations into a common denominator, into what represents our daily cares and what is mature thinking about the future. In the party an ever deeper knowledge both of the realities of life and the moods, views, and opinions that are formed against its background is needed. We are creating a system for public opinion research; we are improving the practice of consultation; we are endeavoring to expand the direct meetings in the works interprises. The resolution of the Central Committee on considering complaints and objections is being implemented. The doors of the party committees must be open. The activist must always have time for conversation with a worker who has some business with the party. Obsolete habits, directives from the desk or the office, a reemergence of convenient [wygodnictwo] behavior, and even arrogance still make themselves felt. The party cannot and will not agree to them.

Our task consists of listening carefully to the workers' voices, to criticism, in order to establish the hierarchy of tasks and the sequence of their implementation; to forge justified proposals into directives for action. A rich harvest of such proposals and postulates was brought forth, among others, by the conference of workers' aktivs and the September meeting of trade unionists in the Baildon steelworks.

Service to the working class, the nation, is a struggle against everything that pulls us back, that fills working people with indignation; against injustice, soulless bureaucracy, the violation of workers' dignity, westage of public property, against chaos and bad work organization, against high-handedness and corruption. The party is gaining trust and stands at the head of this struggle and exploits the justified dissatisfaction of working people as a constructive force in improging our reality.

The workers class plays the leading role in socialist construction but it is also subjected to a complicated process of changes, development, and maturing. It is not free of vacillations and doubts. It also succumbs to the influence brought from without by the false "friends of the people." We must be vigilant vis-a-vis all manifestations of demagogy.

The party among workers and workers in the party -- this is our essential aim. The fundamental meaning of the class policy of our party is to be in and with the workers class, to strengthen its hegemonic role in line with changing conditions, to take care of its position, prestige, and dignity, to see that working and living conditions become better, to ensure opportunities for advancement and development, and work with the workers class, and to lead it.

Acting as a Uniform Ideopolitical Force Is the Distinctive Feature of the Workers, Leninist Party

In the past few years the party has undergone unusually tough trials. The shocks generated by the crisis and the attacks by the counterrevolutionary forces threw the state of the party and the maturity of aktivs and party ranks into more glaring relief than ever before.

We have suffered considerable losses, but the party has been able to preserve its ideological and tempered backbome devoted to the cause of socialism. It has preserved its decisive positions in the state and in the structures of the power apparatus and its important role in most factories and social communities.

We have honestly drawn conclusions from what has happened. The PZPR has a historical, political, and moral right to lead the nation. Historical, since it was under its guidance that the achievements of the past 40 years were created; political, since at the ninth congress we worked out and are implementing a program for overcoming the crisis, a program of socialist political and economic reforms; moral, since with full consistency and integrity we have carried out an assessment of our errors.

At the seventh plenum we said: The same party, but not the same. That was not a one-time declaration. It is a postulate that is permanently in force, a postulate of the systematic and consistent improvement of our entire activity. The fundamental change lies in strengthening the link between the party and working people in the practices already initiated to this end, to effectively gain their confidence and support. This injunction is essentially a simple one, but politically it is fundamental to the real fulfillment of the leading role of the party in the life of the working class and the whole nation.

The party must act as a uniform ideopolitical force not only through its declarations, but through its work because this is a feature of the Leninist workers party and a condition for the people's trust in it. On the strength of the statute adopted by the ninth congress, the functioning of the party in line with democratic centralism was restored, especially after the seventh party plenum. All the nonstatutory structures, which tended to engage in factorial activities, were dissolved. We still continue to fight against revisionist tendencies, which negate the laws of social development discovered by Marxism-Leninism and question the basic principles of our party and of the revolutionary workers movement, as well as the experience of real socialism. Conservative-dogmatic tendencies continue to be resisted. These tendencies are proof that some people do not understand new phenomena, are afraid of necessary changes, and hold on tightly to the formulas of other times and other conditions.

Revisionism produces opportunism and proneness to capitulate, and dogmatism produces conservatism and sectarianism. Both revisionism and dogmatism resort, albeit in different ways, to demagogy and produce the same results: the weakening of the party and its impact, as well as its ties with the working people. It should be noted that opportunism presents a special danger to us in the situation of the present acute political struggle.

No group within the party, no matter what banner it adopts, belongs to the left wing, right wing, or center. The thing is that our entire party was, is, and will be leftist. Every attempt to divide the party has been a reason for and expression of the party's weakness. And a weak party is a chance for its enemies.

The Politburo resolution of last December on intensifying the unity and effectiveness of party activities is still fully valid. We need to be vigilant toward all manifestations that are not favorable for preserving the party's ideological-political and organizational cohesiveness and hinder the implementation of the ninth congress and Central Committee resolutions.

We do not intend to treat party unity in a formal way, because the party is a living organism, within which discussions and differences of views arise when programmatic lines and political positions are forumlated and because such discussions and differences are a natural and even desirable feature. After all, the contradictions present in life are reflected in political and theoretical views. The permanent process of airing and overcoming these contradictions is the driving force of party development. However, internal party democracy and freedom of discussion and criticism, which became the permanent principle of internal party life at the ninth congress, must not be exploited for objectives that are in conflict with party ideology and policy.

We now make decisions through the process of discussions and exchanges of views. However, as soon as a resolution is adopted it is binding on everyone and everyone is responsible for its implementation.

"It is not enough to term oneself an avant-garde. One also has to work in such a way that all the remaining detachments perceive and recognize that we are proceeding at the head," Vladimir Lenin taught. To be the avant-garde in the sense of ideological and political leadership, by force of example, words must be matched by deeds. This is a goal which calls for far better ideological equipment in the party.

For us the adversary is the hostile or foreign tendencies and concepts; but, at the same time, how damaging is ignorance, weak knowledge of the laws and mechanisms that govern our system, large-scale negligence in historical, political, economic, and legal education, both in the party and among the public!

This also calls for a new approach to party training. The efforts made by most party cells and by party training lecturers and organizers have been considerable, but the results of their work are far below our expectations. The reconstruction of party training is experiencing its ups and downs, and many party organizations fail to attach the necessary importance to it. The skill of relating theory to the party's practical activites is still poor. Economic affairs are often artifically severed from political and ideological affairs.

Promoting training and self-training of party aktivs is a particularly urgent task. Training and self-training should also be promoted to a greater extent among the leading cadres. The criterion of political knowledge should be taken into account by cadre policy.

Fostering the views of the world in line with the party's ideological principles is one of the basic tasks of ideological and educational activities. As the ninth party congress resolution states, we do not close the party to believers, especially believing workers and peasants, who want to fight for socialism in the PZPR and actively participate in the country's political life. However, in line with that same resolution, we should be militant and consistent in propagating scientific views of the world in the party to intensify Marxist-Leninist knowledge and convictions and to see that they become predominant.

Party fitness is shown in action and in the clash with problems and opposing views. We are still too weak in our intercourse with the workers class and all social communities. To be an activist means to create models of party attitudes, party responses, and living party language. Many comrades have confirmed or won the right to the honorable title of activist in the course of struggle, in difficult dialogue, and in ideological and political confrontations when they had to withstand attacks.

Party fitness must not be limited to party meetings. The most important thing is what one does and how one conducts oneself between party meetings, as well as how one observes the Leninist principle: the party is where the party member is. Party fitness must denote industry, conscientiousness, moral sensitivity, and doing what one expects others to do.

There is a great deal to be done in this regard. Our task is not only to overcome the evils that existed in the past. We can also see that some people are again indifferent to the present criticism of various negative phenomena of life. The personnel in various echelons continues here and there to demonstrate the old habits of bureaucratic conduct, to pooh-pooh public opinion, to refuse to respond to just demands, and to be indifferent to people's problems. We will most resolutely fight for genuine renewal not only as a general objective of our program, but also and above all as a manifestation of daily work performed by all institutions, cadres, and functionaries.

The Party's Leading Role in Society Is the Fundamental Principle of Our System

Comrades, the ninth congress resolution stresses: "The state of socialist democracy, in relation to which the party plays a leading role, is the basic instrument of the domination of the workers class. The party's impact on society must not be limited merely to its ideological impact on public consciousness. Reducing the party's function to the ideological-moral sphere and depriving it of specific instruments of power is a concept that is in conflict with the fundamental principles of socialist construction and that produces negative results in all spheres of political and socioeconomic life."

The party's guiding role in society and leading role in the state is a fundamental principle in our system. So-called political pluralism or the "free play of forces" are tantamount to the demand that the captain should throw out his compass and navigational gear in high seas.

We must approach these issues with complete frankness, because they are still wrapped up in much disorientation and vagueness, as is attested to by some articles in the press that pass over in silence the party's role as the driving force of socialist renewal or pit "society" against "the power apparatus."

We do not want people to think along the same lines and to speak with one voice. We want lively exchanges of ideas and the development of good journalism, which stimulates creative-thinking. However, it is our task to see that journalism is dominated by party and civic responsibility and that wrong and harmful voices are criticized from principled positions when basic issues are at stake. The greater the sense of responsibility of editorial offices and other echelons of the ideological front and of the party organizations active in them, the greater the polemic militancy, and the more rapid the response to false theses, the lesser the role of administrative sanctions will be.

That is why it is necessary to react when press articles negate -- from positions of typical neodogmatism -- the experience and maturity of our revolution and the achievements of socialist construction.

It is necessary to react to the interpretations that ignore the principled class meaning of the present reforms in Poland.

In accordance with the general regulations [prawidlowosc] of socialism, with the line of the ninth congress, we are aiming at a reconstruction of the mechanisms of state and economic life that will ensure increased participation by working people in government, along with an increase in the workforce's direct influence on the national economy.

From this point of view an immeasurably important task remains -- the development of the union movement. The decisions taken a year ago are proving themselves in practice. The new trade unions already number among their ranks about 3.5 million members. This is a momentous political and social fact. They are dominated by workers. The resurgent union movement, independent of the administration, is acquiring vigor, both in the basic cells and in the structures above the works level that are shaping up, including the national federations.

Today, the national congress of the new union of Polish teachers begins. We wish its participants a fruitful debate. Standing guard over the interests of employees, the union movement is an indispensable partner in the struggle to overcome the crisis, to repair the economy. Partnership is essentially bilateral, thus the position of the unions signifies both criticism and support, as well as concern for living conditions and for the quality of work. The partner does not just make demands, but makes offers too; he does not just take, but shows concern that the resources to be divided up increase. We believe the unions have a role in consolidating the joint responsibility of the workforce for the results of the management of an enterprise and a just division of the results of work. We follow in the wake of the 12th plenum by recalling that the duty of party members is to participate in union activity. This is not happening everywhere yet. It is our party's duty to strengthen trade unions and to enhance their prestige, especially in a situation when the path of improving the working people's living conditions is difficult and slow. An extensive, let us say noninvestment, sphere is, therefore, all the more important; this includes everyday justice, the open making of decisions, the elimination of evil and various everyday nuisances, the cleansing of social relations and care that the working man is known, respected, and distinguished in the way he deserves.

In the process of rebuilding the social infrastructure in enterprises, employee self-management bodies are gradually increasing their activity. Along with this the need grows to build in work establishments a proper system of partnership and to shape correctly the relations between administration, trade unions and self-management. It rests with party organizations and echelons to ensure that this system helps to integrate work forces and to consolidate socialist social relations, and that it serves enterprises' good performance.

One has to oppose any revival of anarchic-syndicalist trends, any attempt to turn self-managements into a battlefield of political struggle. On the other hand one has to oppose attempts to ignore and underestimate self-management. It is the party's duty to ensure the real and constructive role of self-governments in work enterprises.

The changes that the reform has brought about in economic planning and management, in the functioning of enterprises, and in the implementation of principles of workers' self-management immeasurably expand the joint responsibility of work forces for the performance and results achieved by their enterprises, but these changes carry perils which can be eliminated only by the party's organizational and ideological-upbringing work. State enterprises are the property of the whole nation, and their productive activity must serve the whole of society. The work force manages the property of the enterprises, its production possibilities, on behalf of society. It has at its disposal part of the national property, not its own group property. The economic reform sets definite frameworks to this responsibility and the method of its implementation. The principles of independence, self-management and self-financing place the enterprises within the framework of hard and economically indispensable rigors of economic calculation. They demand that production be efficient and economic for the benefit of society and the whole economy, and the work force will be justly paid. Tendencies to exploit the authority given to it or to be guided exclusively by the group interest of the work force are in total contradiction to the spirit of the reform. An example of this is the calculation of excessively high production prices, or the race, at any cost, for profit. Such attitudes and tendencies require active counteraction by party organizations. At the current stage of the implementation of the economic reform, a task of fundamental significance is the restructuring of the incentive systems, the close linkage of wages and all their components with work productivity. The planned changes in the wages system are aimed at this.

A fundamental issue is the rigorous observance of the principle: from each according to his capabilities, to each according to his work. This is of key significance as a factor motivating people's attitudes, as the link combining the striving toward economic rationalization with the ideological-social principles of socialism, with a sense of social justice. It is impossible to find solutions in nominal, artificial egalitarianism. It is necessary to oppose demagogic postulates concerning the levelling of wages; equally would not then mean justly. Between wages and work a close interdependence must exist which is understood by the employee. At the contemporary stage of the construction of socialism, equality means the equalization of all before the law in access to work and to basic social benefits, to education and culture, given at the same time remuneration appropriate to the quantity and social usefulness of the labor.

Deviation from the principle that one's material situation should depend on the contribution of his work directly or indirectly gives rise to a violation of the moral and legal order in a socialist society. Public opinion is justly sensitive to this issue. It opposes all manifestations of work-shirking, of the parasitic exploitation of another's work, of profiting from speculation, bribery and tax fraud, as well as the deriving of illegal gains from the holdling of official posts. Chaos, bad work organization, careless work, wastage, and extravagance are condemned; but frequently the evil is condemned in general, verbally, without the introduction of order in one's own backyard. This must be changed.

Much controversy and sharply critical assessments -- especially on the part of the workers -- are provoked by the activity of the private sector. Within the totality of our economic life it plays in essence a limited, auxiliary role. Social and economic needs justify the creation -- for private crafts, services and small-scale manufacture as well -- of possibilities for the production of consumer goods and for supplying these services of which there is a shortage. Those who in accordance with the law, paying in proportion to income the recently considerably increased taxes, contribute to an improvement of the market situation, should not be the subject of generalized critical opinions.

Speculation, the amassing of fortunes as a result of abuse of power, and glaringly high, unjustified incomes should be combated resolutely. These bring negative results and lead to the formation and propagation of values contrary to socialism. With today's shortage of goods, the greatest evil is obtaining a high income by means of speculation, an income that has not been produced. Another evil is income that is out of proportion to the amount of work. A consistent battle must be waged against these phenomena. These are the correct demands of the people. Let us add that the state and social shield may not act as a cover for corruption and speculation. Evil must be fought everywhere and in all its forms. This is the class duty of the socialist state.

Comrades, in the battle for Polish social justice and during the construction of socialism in our country, a key role has been played by and is being played by the worker-peasant alliance. Agricultural reform has made this alliance a permanent feature in People's Poland. The oldest generation of Polish country people remember from their own experience which people died when their land was divided up and which people shot at the gangs doing the compulsory division, and with whose blessing they did this. But this alliance weakened because of insufficient determination and because of the changeability of agricultural policy during the following years.

Problems of developing agriculture and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance have found an important place in the program of socialist renewal. At the 11th plenum we worked out together with the ZSL the principles of our policy on rural areas and agriculture. We are in favor of a stable agricultural policy that is consistently implemented. Only this kind of policy will encourage a strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance and will convince farmers of the correctness of the state's socialist policy. A basic task facing agriculture is to solve the problem of feeding the nation and to contribute toward improving the population's material situation. We give prioriy to all undertakings that serve to make agriculture more productive and efficient and which increase the procurement of agricultural produce by the state. Agricultural policy should be geared to the above aims so that the growth of rural income as compared to urban income may be strictly dependent on growth in agricultural production and efficiency.

We accept the following as the basic criteria for assessing agriculture: how a landowner is using his land, how much and what he is producing, and how much he sells to the state. In accordance with the decisions of the joint PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Supreme Committee plenum, a constitutional amendment has been made whereby private family farms -- in other words farms that do not permanently employ an outside labor force -- are a permanent part of the country's socioeconomic system. We believe that this will increase peasants' confidence in our agricultural policy. It will make it possible for them to devote their full energy and resources to increasing the productivity of their farms. For these farms are an integral part of our economic system, which by the very fact that it dominates the socialist sector, creates the conditions possible for agriculture to serve the interests of society in general. Agriculture is backed up by a dense network of contacts with the socialized economy and with state policy. The system of contracts for agricultural production, the services provided to agriculture by socialized enterprises, and various legal regulations are introducing new social and systemic elements to private farming. This does not alter the fact that our farming is outdated in structure and is not unified, which makes technical progress dificult. This is a great and complex problem. We have created the social, legal, and material stimuli for improving the structure of agriculture, and we will help this improvement process to proceed. It should be noted, however, that the constitutional confirmation of the permanence of private farms does not bar the road to the voluntary emergence of forms of farming involving many people and dealing with many kinds of produce.

Spreading these forms of farming with the approval of the peasants and in their interests will meet with the state's understanding and support.

The most important task is to constantly increase agricultural production. Our industrial potential, which produces material and production resources for agriculture, should also in this way help solve one of the main tasks of the coming years -- implementing the program of feeding the nation.

Comrades, more struggle, more accord! This is the way in which we formulated the binding political line of our party at the 12th plenum. We underscored the close connection between these two targets. The ideal of national accord contained in the program of the ninth congress is not a tactical measure or a concession enforced by the situation.

This is a strategic concept of a principled, class nature. Its axis is a strong, direct tie between the party and its working class; an alliance of workers, peasants, and the working intelligentsia. It is not an artificial or formal unity that we have in mind. Neither is it a glossing over of the class divisions, world outlook differences, differences in views on many matters, on the contradictions apparent in society. We take all this into consideration because such is reality. But it is here that exists the overwhelming need for accord and cooperation in matters of supreme importance for Poland. These are the ensuring of peace and security, the consolidation of our place in the socialist community, the strengthening of our alliances. This is the guaranteeing of law and internal order. This is the mobilization of energy in overcoming economic difficulties and surmounting the threat of the degradation of the country in the international competition of labor. This is the combining of forces in the renewal of all that demands, in the light of experience, changes and improvements. On this is based the platform of accord and national rebirth, formulated at the First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON].

The expanding national rebirth movement already plays an important role in the molding of a common stance vis-a-vis many key issues. Expressing the opinion of a considerable part of the community it comes forward with initiatives addressed to the state authorities. In the interest of local communities it starts to enter the wide plane of the needs of the milieu. It reverts to the idea of civic deeds. The backbone of patriotic accord consists of the allied cooperation between the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD. Our multiparty political system and coalition method of discharging power are based on the common striving for socialist transformations, on the recognition of the leading role of the PZPR, which expresses the objectives and interests of the working class; of all working people.

Important participants in state life are the PAX Association, the Christian Social Association, and the Polish Catholic-Social Union, which accept the constitutional political principles of the PPR and are among the signatories of the first PRON declaration. This movement is acquiring growing numbers of nonparty representatives of various social circles, people enjoying high prestige.

The party attaches great importance to the activity and development of PRON and to its increasing importance in social life and in the country's political system. We are in favor of PRON being an open movement, constantly attracting people who are still waiting on the sidelines, a movement making it possible for more and more nonparty people to take an active part in the country's sociopolitical life.

Accepting the formula "unity in difference," we consider it essential and possible that people with various opinions can join in free discussion and adopt a more unified stance, in many cases a joint one, concerning the ways and means of solving the country's important problems.

This should lead to progress in consolidating the movement politically, and to progress in the formation, in various PRON bodies and at various levels of its activity, of a real front of accord and cooperation influencing the views and attitudes of an increasingly wider cross-section of society. The party and its members should take an active part in discussions and work serving to implement the policy of patriotic accord. They should take the initiative and distinguish themselves in social work, and concern themselves with a democratic climate behind the actions of PRON.

Compared with the years 1981 and 1982, the situation in the milieus of the technological intelligentsia has gradually changed. This applies to the majority of schools, colleges, scientific and artistic centers, editorial offices, and publications.

More and more we have the intelligentsia on our side, people who are outstanding and whose authority is well deserved. These, by and large, are the results of long and complex choices. The intelligentsia found itself amidst conflicting torrents, subject to intensified pressure of emotions, myths, and illusions, under particular pressure from national and foreign opponents of socialism. All the more reason for us to value these choices. Let us repeat this yet again. We do not ask anyone where he comes from, as long as he comes with good intentions.

It remains a fact that certain scientists and artists have chosen the path of political struggle, of opposition activities under the patronage of and with support from the West. The Polish intelligentsia's best tradition was thinking in terms of Poland and social progress. The truth is that over the past few years Poland has grown weaker. The world will not wait for us. Quite a few areas are under the threat of regression. This gives us a complete moral right to put the question: Is it not time to put one's entire knowledge and energy into the cause of national rebirth and socialist renewal? A position other than that, irrespective of subjective emotions, cannot serve Poland.

We say openly that today there are no substantial resources to significantly improve the conditions in which the intelligentsia has to work and live. The maximum of what the country can really afford today is earmarked by us on these intentions.

The party stands out by its respect for the creative intellectual activity and for the progress of science and technology and education and culture that is needed by the nation. The framework of educational, scientific, and cultural policies is extensive. These policies have as their aim not uniformity but support for creative activities that open up new horizons, enriching the life of the socialist society.

This is what our party and forces cooperating with it propose, and we present this to the Polish intelligentsia. We are ready to discuss this, receptive to initiatives and to criticism that stems from constructive sources. We reject and we will combat what is backward, harmful, and antisocialist.

Party aktivists, committees, and organizations should meet intelligently and should hold open talks and direct exchanges of opinion. They should try to win people over to a just cause. There will never be too many such people.

Comrades, our party has worked out a stance on religion and churches which is justified by Polish reality. Showing concern for a greater influence of the scientific Marxist world outlook, we regard it as most important that differences in world outlook and in religious conviction should not be an obstacle for work for the socialist fatherland. We oppose attempts to separate Poles into believers and nonbelievers. Socialist humanitarianism -- the values connected with the goals of the workers class -- is valuable to all citizens.

All citizens have equal rights and duties, and they all have the possibility of acting inside political parties, trade unions, PRON, youth organizations, and self-management associations and organizations. Those who inspire social activity by means of their convictions can do so as members of associations and organizations for Catholics and adherents of other Christian faiths. Clergymen of all religions may also use their citizens rights to take part in public life in accordance with the interests of the Polish state and nation.

The party will invariably be guided by the constitutional principles dividing church from state in all areas of social life and by the principles of freedom of conscience and religion. Concerned for the welfare of the state and for the domestic order and stability that these principles serve, we will firmly oppose any violation of these principles. We will not reconcile ourselves to a lack of tolerance or to militant clericalism and provocative actions that have nothing to do with religion.

We see the possibility for wide joint activity between the Church and the state wherever basic values to the nation are concerned, such as the defense of peace, Poland's security, and domestic order. We also see this possibility in many undertakings of a moral-ethical nature, in actions aimed at increasing one's respect for work and for social property, and in the battle against social plagues.

A feeling of citizens responsibility and a patriotic understanding for the interests of the PPR which are spreading among the clergy well serve the interests of the Church and the state. However, we cannot ignore the fact that there are forces in Poland and abroad that would like to achieve a conflict between the Church and the socialist state at any price. We will firmly oppose these attempts which appear in many guises.

There exists a platform of dialogue and cooperation in Church-state relations that has taken shape over the years and that has proved its worth in difficult times as well. We will develop this dialogue and cooperation wherever necessary and possible.

In the philosophical arena, the party will step up the propagation of its interests and values, respecting the interests and values of others. It will be the party's duty to increase the influence of a scientific world outlook. The party does not intend to discredit the multifarious sources, traditions, and motivations of contemporary patriotism and humanitarianism. But neither will it come to terms with attempts to negate and discriminate against the sources, traditions, and motivations connected with social progress and with the demands of the social leftwing.

Comrades, the cause of socialist reforms initiated by the ninth congress program pertains to a considerable extent to the functioning of the state and the legal system, to the development of indirect and also direct forms of socialist democracy. We consistently proceed along this path, the long list of fundamental legal acts and the already not inconsiderable extent to which the new democratic practices have been implemented bear witness to this.

A new style of government work is beginning to take shape. The Sejm is being very active. During the past 2 years a great deal has been done to make the activities of state administration on all levels more efficient. However, a lot of work still awaits us in this sphere.

A sovereign socialist state is the most important common good and we know this from the difficult history of our nation. We defended it from anarchy and destruction. Today work is needed to make the state strong by the consciousness and activeness of the working people, strong by its accomodating attitude toward their requirements, strong by the efficient functioning of the administration and the executive apparatus, strong by the implementation of social, political, and economic tasks.

The state's strength is a guarantee for the development of socialist democracy, which is a dam both against bureaucratic and elitist trends and against licence and anarchy.

In accordance with the line of the ninth congress we have embarked upon important reforms in our socialist political system. We are transforming old institutions and introducing new ones. We are doing so in order that politics and practice are not rectified by further crises but by suitable political mechanisms.

We attach key importance to guaranteeing legal-political institutions of people's authority their proper position -- this means the Sejm and People's councils of all levels. The party has supported the granting of wide-ranging powers to people's councils as bodies of authority and of self-management over the economic, social, and cultural affairs of the areas they represent. The party is also concerned that both the political parties and social organizations, workers self-management bodies, and public opinion should have a real influence on the decisions of representative bodies.

This way we wish to build and develop a democratic system of daily and universal participation by citizens in public and state life.

The words "democracy" and "human rights" are being constantly repeated in Poland and around the world. The opponents of socialism are reserving for themselves the right to interpret these words in the way they want. But in the light of capitalist practice in their homelands and in numerous other regions of the world the words are used as a cynical lie about the real state of affairs.

Socialism does not proclaim abstract democracy and freedom because democracy and freedom possess a class nature and a class framework, but in our case they are based on the sum total of real civic, social, economic, and political rights, which we will consolidate and strengthen.

We believe that conditions are ripe for the preparation of a new system for elections to representative bodies. This would be an important democratic feature of the transformations that are occurring in our country. We believe PRON will play an important role in this work.

We are developing and improving the system of consultations. We are commencing work on a concept for worker-peasant control. For this purpose we are making the most of the experiences of some socialist states. But the institutional changes themselves are only the beginning. Their success depends on the extent and quality of social participation in the possibilities that have been created. Launching slogans of renewal and boycott, the adversary assumes that the reforms, which are designed to have working people take part in them generally, will fail their test because there will be a shortage of such people to take part in them. No one is more interested in increasing the participation of working people in every form of joint administration and joint management than we the party. Activity in this direction is the duty of all PZPR cells and organizations.

It is an important ideological task of the party's to disseminate political culture, views, norms, and customs which suit the principles of socialist democracy, consistently implement decisions that have been made jointly, and lead matters to a successful conclusion. This requires imparting a legal education to society and explaining to it the purpose of the entire legislative effort of recent years. We should create a better respect for the law and for adopted legal regulations.

Knowledge of the law by citizens, as well as by people representing state institutions, has still not reached the level required by society today. Everywhere and every day one comes across habits and conduct that go against the norms of social coexistence and citizen-like duty. This must be resolutely combated.

Comrades, the entire party must concern itself with matters of ideology. We are faced with the task of regaining the position of and ensuring the leadership role of Marxist-Leninist thought in the country's intellectual life and in the formation processes of social consciousness. Past neglect and the complex conditions imposed by confrontation have meant that we have lost a lot of ground in our ideological lives in recent years. We must regain this ground, strengthen our position, and take the offensive.

Improving the situation in the social sciences is of special importance. The party is asking more and more new questions of these sciences. This it is doing with a feeling of responsibility for a proper understanding of the situation and of the country's sociopolitical, economic, and cultural needs. This is expressed by the thesis contained in the ninth congress resolution whereby the development of Marxism-Leninism and the application of Marxist methods of analysis to sociopolitical phenomena is a basic condition behind the conducting of a correct party policy and behind the avoidance of mistakes and distortions.

A sharp political battle to repulse an attack by opposing methodological orientations is being waged in the social sciences and humanities. This is connected with the need to overcome Polish versions of Western teachings, the snobbish adherence to temporary fashions, and even the transfer to Poland of bourgeois assessments and doctrines.

Scholars, for whom Marxism-Leninism has been their own basis for research for a long time, have in the great majority remained Marxists. But there have also been those who have ostentatiously deserted the ranks they have belonged to up to now and have paid visits to other camps.

While fighting to strengthen the role and position of Marxism-Leninism, we mean to respect its theoretical and methodological principles in practice. We do not intend to interfere in the research work of scholars. It is for science to ask questions and seek solutions. But we demand that the social sciences and the entire range of Polish humanities should play as full a part as possible in the solving of socially important problems. These include: the structure and consciousness of contemporary

Polish society, especially the workers class the functioning of the PPR's socialist political system; the theory and practice of organization and management; and the progress and results of economic reform.

There is need for deeper research into the Polish historical process. Assessments of this process as a whole and of parts of it have once again found themselves at the focus of a sharp battle. The opponents would like to revise the assessments of history in order to rehabilitate regressive ideas and political trends. It is not for the sake of revealing the political truth that the idea that Poland is only connected with Western tradition is being cultivated, but for the sake of political goals.

Poland's cultural and historical heritage, which built our national identity over the centuries, is being increased today through links with the great progressive current of world culture in close coexistence with the culture of our immediate neighbors. This is an important factor in bringing up new generations in the spirit of national identity and internationalist respect for other nations and for friends.

The workers movement at the center of programmatic searches has always posed the problem of raising the class barriers behind human development, enriching human identity, and increasing human rights combined with a responsibility for social progress. A great deal of confusion and propaganda phraseology imposed by the opponents has gathered around this subject matter. At the same time these problems are creating sharp interest, especially among our young generation, who, like every young generation, is seeking the best patterns for an honorable existence and the best way of performing its citizens role and responsibility. It is the responsibility of the Marxist humanities to shape a philosophical, social, and ethical orientation inside our young people in the spirit of our ideals.

Only a creative approach, coupled with an honest intellectual effort, may establish the scientific prestige of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences and of those who represent them. Only then will they be able to influence the community, attract progressively-thinking learned people, and embrace the student generation with their influence.

Working out a long-term program of cadre policy in the social sciences is an urgent matter. This program should cover the training, refresher training, and advancement of scientific cadres.

Work on establishing an Academy of Social Sciences attached to the PZPR Central Committee is continuing. This work was initiated by the 12th plenum resolution. The academy should become the main center of Marxist thoughts in Poland, as well as a national training center for cadres in the social sciences. It will perform its basic tasks by combining its research and educational functions.

A national conference involving the social sciences and humanities seems to be useful. This conference would assess the state of these sciences in Poland, would form tasks for these sciences in the light of the 13th plenum resolution, and would lay down the goals for research work in the eighties. We propose to convene a second national party theoretical-ideological conference before the 10th congress.

Fully appreciating the meaning of general and higher education and of culture in the activity of the integrated ideological front, the Central Committee decided at the previous plenum to examine these problems at a future session. We will do so next year.

Today we once again stress the great importance which we attach to normalizing the situation inside the artistic circles. We want individual professional groups and circles to restore their self-managing, autonomous, creative-professional representations, operating in accordance with the interests of the socialist state and contributing to the development of national culture.

The consistent political struggle against the opponents of socialism must be accompanied by enduring endeavors to win over all those who became lost in the dramatic events of recent years and who can make a valuable contribution to the development of science and culture in our nation. By means of patient explanatory and organizational work, and with the participation of the primary party organizations, we wish to build inside these social circles fronts of accord based on an acceptance of our state's goals and constitutional principles.

Polish journalism is faced with responsible and difficult tasks. We are placing increasing demands on the community of party journalists. Their activity should help people understand the essence of the processes that are occurring in the country, and they should explain the politics of the party and the socialist state in a convincing manner and widen the platform of dialogue with society.

We highly value the dedication of most journalists in the ideological struggle and in the process of socialist reconstruction. At the same time we stress the need to raise the standard, content, and forms of journalism. Editors, editorial teams, and party organizations in newspaper offices should defeat the trends that weaken the links of the press and the radio with the party's daily work and that do not serve the dissemination of our ideological principles. There is also a lot to do in the struggle against fixed attitudes and listlessness.

At the ninth plenum we stressed the particular responsibility of the state system of education and higher education for the upbringing of the younger generations. The mutual ties between the process of teaching and upbringing have not yet become universal practice in our school system. Within the entire school system, including higher education establishments, too little attention is paid to inspiring young people with the ideals and moral values of the socialist community. Instead sometimes alien educational patterns are propagated. There exists a need to enrich the entire process of teaching with ideological and educational contents, above all in the humanities, and the teaching of the Polish language, literature, and history. The most important factor is the knowledge, ideological bearing, and personal example of the teacher and tutor. Particular care is required by the training and additional training of teachers with high professional and didactic abilities, with high moral, civic values.

It is the concern of the party to strengthen the dignity of the teacher and his social position.

The resolution of the ninth plenum will become fully implemented only when the youth itself, its organizations, the young members of the party, will not only be the resolution's exponents, but also executors. From the drive toward the new from the younger generation's will to improve reality nothing which is of value should be missed. The period of reform in social life, the period of struggle for fuller implementation of social justice, the restoration of full brightness to the ideals of socialism, creates for the young an authentic chance to write in its generation's biography the construction of a prosperous future for our homeland.

Today we are laying down the tasks to be performed by the ideological and educational front. The performance of these tasks requires concern for rebuilding our party's strength in all scientific, cultural, and educational circles. Our party organizations are often weak there and not very active. Improving this situation is one of the key conditions necessary for success in our party's ideological offensive.

The Polish People's Army is playing an important role in shaping the patriotic and citizen-like responsibility of young people. Under the ideological leadership of the party, the Army is making it possible for soldiers to defend the country and take a creative part in political, social, and cultural life. The system of ideological and educational work that has been formed in the Army and constantly improved harmoniously combines on the one hand the formation of attitudes of dedication toward the fatherland and of a readiness to defend it, and on the other hand a deepening of general knowledge, a development of horizons of thought and personal culture, an awareness of the common good of all people, and an understanding for the socialist state's interests.

The country's domestic situation and the state's political interests have placed the Armed Forces at the focus of Polish affairs. The Polish People's Army has played a fundamental role in the work of saving the nation and has made an important contribution to national accord. It has also protected internal peace and effectively counteracted attempts to use Poland as a training ground for imperialist contests against the interests of peace and socialism. Our comrades in uniform, the soldier-activists of the Army, are taking an active part in implementing the tasks of the Ninth PZPR Congress with their dedicated service, creative and useful work, and their defense of social order.

The historic role of the Polish People's Army and its high rank and prestige in the life of our nation and state have been recently confirmed by the Army's 40th anniversary. This anniversary has at the same time been a great display of the best traditions of People's Poland and of the patriotic and internationalist values that lie at the basis of its achievements.

The huge and complex tasks that Poland faces today require firmness, commonsense, and consistency in action. In the final count, most of all depends on the people and on their will and dedication. Today we need people who are ideological, bold, active, energetic, and who do not give up in the face of difficulties. We need intelligent people, people with wide horizons, people who know to think intelligently and responsibly and to work according to schedule and effectively, foreseeing the results of their actions.

Therefore, the selection of cadres and responsibility for personnel decisions are particularly important. But no less important are the methods and forms of cadre policy: how decisions are made and how they are publicized and explained.

The public expects further measurable results in improving the activity of the state and economic administration and the work of all sectors of our life. Sensitivity toward all signs of incompetence, neglect, disobedience of the legal order, and violations of the norms of social justice has increased.

Cadre policy is one of the functions of the ruling party and is a basic tool of its activity. We are presenting this matter in plain terms. Cadre policy has a class nature, but is at the same time an integral component of the general process of shaping socialist democracy, law and order, and political culture. The question is to break the mold [przetamywanie barier] in the selection and control of political, administrative, and economic cadres, and attract valuable representatives of various social circles, including women and young people, regardless of party membership.

In shaping cadre policy, concern for the proper working conditions and development of cadres should go hand in hand with an effort to increase the scope and extent of responsibility. The draft document that has been presented to you, comrades, helps to give a clear understanding of the principles of cadre policy in this very spirit.

Comrades, the conclusions that we draw from the experience of the building of socialism in our country should find reflection in the new long-term program of the party. Work on it was instructed by the ninth congress. This work requires time, in-depth studies, analyses, and forecasts. The commission working on the program is committed to presenting the results of its deliberation to the national conference of party delegates. After this consultation, the work will be continued up to the 10th congress. Already the party needs a document that indicates our prospects, our goals, intentions, and aims. We therefore wish to propose that next year's national conference of party delegates adopt an ideological-programmatic declaration entitled "What We Are Fighting for and Where We Are Heading."

The party is entering the period of the electrical and accountability campaign. The formation of the ideological, moral, and political attitudes of party members must become its main current.

We must again ask the question: What should be done to increase the activity of every party member, to realize the task put forward at the 12th Central Committee plenum, for every party member to be outstanding in his milieu? Party meetings and conferences crown the difficult terms of office of the party authorities. We address our thanks and words of esteem to thousands of secretaries of the basic and departmental party organizations, to the group party heads, to the activists performing functions in the executives and in the local party echelons of the control commissions of the party and in the audit commissions.

During the tough political struggle they bore responsibility for the party, fought to rebuild its strength and to regain public confidence. We are convinced that they will continue their activity and serve the party using the experience they have gained during this difficult time.

The 35th anniversary of the unification of the Polish workers' movement is approaching; the 35th anniversary of the PZPR. We have come a long way. Along the way we have marked successes of lasting significance for the fate of Poland. We have also had our failures and difficult periods. But we were, are, and will remain faithful to our idea: to serve the working class and the nation, socialist Poland. That is how we understand the leading role of our party.

Orzechowski Speech

AU191430 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15/16 Oct 83 p 4

[Speech by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary, at the 14 October session of the 13th PZPR Central Committee plenum]

[Excerpt] The socialist revolution in Poland was born of the national soil, of the aspirations and the struggle of the workers class for social freedom and justice, and of patriotic concern for Poland's destiny, its development, and its place in Europe.

In the light of this self-evident truth, the real sense and value of arguments about an "imposed revolution," a "socialism that is not Polish," and a country "that is objectively subjectively immature for revolution and socialism," is revealed. We have been hearing these arguments for the past 40 years. They are always the same, are never original, and never new. The first people to use them were the spokesmen of the social classes that the revolution was directed against. Then they were used by all the opponents of socialism, up to the Confederation for an Independent Poland and the anti-socialist Solidarity stream. They are also drawn on by revisionists and our Eurocommunists at home, who back up their arguments with quotations from Marx, as if for the sake of irony, for example, "Marxism is an exceptionally profound science, wrote Lenin. It is, therefore, no wonder that one can always come across snatches of Marx' quotations, especially if they are incorrectly cited, among the arguments of those who are breaking with Marxism."

A people's and workers' vision of a reborn Poland was emerging in the historical development process of the revolution. The historical contribution of the Polish left wing to the workers class and the people is based on the fact that it gave this vision realistic shape, gave it the chance and the potential to come to fruition, organized the necessary social forces for this to happen, and placed itself at their head. This was expressed in the left's political strategy which was born of a proper understanding of contemporary development trends, and the creative application of Marxism-Leninism. Let us point out only a few of the left's basic prerequisites and assumptions:

-- Poland needs its own path of development, a path that consolidates social progress and democracy, takes into consideration the experience of the working masses in their struggle for national and social freedom, and accounts for the development trends of the postwar world.

-- Poland's path to development demands the democratic reconstruction of the social and political system, the creation of a people's state, a state that is independent, includes all Poland's lands, and is insured against external dangers by its alliance with the Soviet Union.

-- The construction of such a state and the achievement of socialist reconstruction is not possible without depriving the classes in power of their property and their influence on the fate of the people and the state, or without uniting democratic and patriotic forces together in the ideological and political hegemony [hegemonia] of the workers class and its party.

-- The logical result of the democratic reconstruction of society is the prospect of the socialist development of Poland. The implementation of socialism must take place in accordance with its universal nature, as well as with Poland's national attributes and experiences.

In view of the 40 years that separates us from the time when this strategy was first accepted and the beginnings of revolutionary changes in Poland, one could say, paraphrasing the words of Karl Marx, that taking power in 1944 and initiating the socialist revolution in Poland was "our party's most praiseworthy deed." This power was not, after all, anyone's for the taking; it was not sufficient just to reach out for it in order to take it in one's hand. A bitter struggle was waged to gain, maintain, and consolidate this power because it is the basic problem of every revolution and also the instrument of social change. Political forces representing the old system were preparing to take power. They refused to abandon this idea or to leave the historical stage without a struggle, and were backed from the very beginning by the international imperialist forces which were then beginning to be lead by U.S. imperialism.

The Polish people made changes under the political and ideological leadership of the party of the workers class, which fundamentally altered their fate. The balance sheet of these changes is contained in the 40-year history of the PPR and its ideological and programmatic assumptions, which indicates that the program of the July Manifesto of the Polish Committee for National Liberation, was the first program for social and political reform in over 2 centuries that was fully implemented and determined by the strength of the workers class and its alliance with the peasants and the intelligentsia.

This achievement was and is being guarded by millions of working people and their leading force, the PZPR, as well as its allied political parties. The Polish social left wing was victorious in the struggle for the economic, social, and political aspects of the reborn state because its vision of Poland's rebirth and its prospects reflected the needs, aims, and aspirations of the nation's classes, its workers, and its peasants.

The achievements of these 40 years have not come to us easily. We paid for the fundamental change in the nation's destiny, the social, political, and cultural progress of the people, and above all, of the workers class, for its new place in the international division of labor, by having to forgo certain things, by experiencing defeats, and tensions. All this brings to mind the question, could we have done more, and could we have done it better? Yes, we could have, but we were hindered not only by subjective mistakes and errors, but also by objective restrictions.

The cold war, the attacks of FRG revisionists on Poland, ideological subversion, and the need to assign large although essential resources to national defense, limited our real potential, which is currently being eliminated by the economic sanctions imposed by the U.S. and its allies, as well as by growing tensions, despite the Soviet Union's successive initiatives, in international relations, and the mounting aggressiveness of imperialist forces.

These restrictions were and are also based in the consciousness of our society. Our experiences in socialist building show that it is easier to convert an agricultural country into an industrial one, than it is to change people's consciousness, eliminate old habits, and to disseminate new socialist attitudes and relations.

But despite these restrictions, we have built a solid and a permanent base for socialism in the political, economic, and social sphere. Socialist change is irreversible and constitutes permanent values of Polish life.

We are not taking stock of our 40 years in order to add yet another year to the many historical anniversaries we have already celebrated or to praise the actions of some people and to condemn others. All we have to do is to recall our recent past in order to find more profound reasons for taking stock of ourselves. The past 40 years are a source of valuable lessons and experiences about the fundamental significance for the future of the people and the state.

-- Socialism was, is, and remains the source of positive changes regarding the fate of the people; as well as their materialistic and their spiritual welfare, it guarantees their independent existence, and creates the possibility of Poland developing in accordance with the aspirations and possibilities expressed in the following way by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, on that memorable day, 13 December 1981, when he said, "We want a great Poland: great due to its achievements, its culture, the nature of its social life, and its position in Europe. The only road we can take to achieve this goal involves the acceptance of socialism by society, a socialism which is constantly being enriched by life experiences."

-- The efforts made by the nation and its workers class, as well, as by its working people can only bear the correct fruits when people's thoughts and actions are being guided by a correct programmatic concept which satisfies the needs of the day.

-- The foundations of this concept, as well as an indispensable condition for the construction of socialism in Poland in accordance with its universal Marxist-Leninist nature, is to unite its principles and regulations in an accurate recognition of and consideration for the potential and the aspirations of the people, their resources, and the definite conditions for their existence and development.

The lessons and the experiences of the past 40 years, as well as the internal and international situation also delete the main aims and goals of the activities connected with this 40-year period. We are, above all, concerned with shaping social consciousness and consolidating the lessons and experiences of the recent past in the memory of the nation. We want to interpret the prerequisites and the signs in this recent past in order to know how to make effective progress, what to do so as not to repeat our mistakes, to consolidate anything that is good and creative, and to avoid anything evil or regressive. Thinking about the past should inspire us to increase the material and spiritual achievements of the nation in the most effective possible way. That is why we wrote in the document that has been distributed among Central Committee members that the 40th anniversary celebrations should be marked by a creative effort in the material and spiritual sphere and by social actions that will help us overcome the effects of the crisis in all areas of social life more quickly.

The 40th anniversary of the PPR should serve to implement the idea of national accord, rally all the patriotic forces of the nation around the program of socialist renewal adopted at the Ninth PZPR Congress, as well as consolidate and develop the PRON.

The 40th anniversary of the PPR should also help to remind people of Poland's permanent achievements, as well as to understand them. This is particularly important since in recent years these achievements were the subject of a very fierce and demagogic attack. We will be making as many people as possible aware of the fact that we can only overcome the crisis on the strength of the great achievements of the PPR, which cannot be undermined despite all their errors. The road of the socialist renewal of the fatherland involves united efforts, well organized and disciplined work, internal order, and social initiative.

We will be disseminating the following in the ideological, educational, political, and propaganda work which is related to the 40th anniversary:

-- the value of patriotism, the love of the fatherland, and a feeling of responsibility for its fate,

-- understanding the need to fight against anarchy and the pursuit of personal interests, the need to consolidate the state, and the authorities in the spirit of the fundamental principles of democracy and socialist justice;

-- the feeling of responsibility for young people's tasks in relation to the lesson we have learned from the historical experiences of the Polish people, particularly from the experiences of the past few years.

-- the role and significance of proletarian internationalism, the traditions of mutual ties and the cooperation of the democratic forces of Poland and Russia [Rosja], the Polish and Russian [Rosyjski] workers' movement, and the joint combat of the Soviet Army and the Polish Armed Forces;

-- the significance of the alliance, friendship, economic cooperation, and trade between the PPR and the USSR, as well as all the countries of the socialist community.

The road we have traversed during these 40 years is a road that is common to all working people and the entire nation. It is precisely for this reason that we are turning to the workers and the peasants, to all the nation's patriotic forces, social circles, and the creators of science and culture to celebrate the anniversary of the socialist fatherland by enriching its material and spiritual achievements with new accomplishments while implementing the idea of national accord and socialist renewal.

CEAUSESCU VISITS EGYPT, MEETS WITH MUBARAK

Ceausescu Arrival Reported

AU192058 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2016 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Excerpts] Cairo AGERPRES 10/10/1983 -- Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu arrived in Egypt on Wednesday, October 19, for an official visit of friendship at the invitation of President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and of Mme Suzanne Mubarak.

Upon arrival, on boarding off the plane, the distinguished messengers of the Romanian people were most cordially welcomed by Egypt's president and his wife. The two heads of state shook hands and warmly embraced each other.

Ceausescu, Mubarak Hold Talks

AU201812 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1633 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Cairo, AGERPRES 20/10/1983 -- The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Husni Mubarak, met again on October 20 after a first round of official talks in plenum.

The two heads of state exchanged opinions at length on international issues.

Special attention was paid to the Middle East and, in that context, to the Palestinian question and situation in Lebanon, to the efforts which should be further made to ensure a just and lasting peace in that part of the world.

Moreover, the two presidents analysed aspects of the current situation in Europe, with emphasis on the necessity of guaranteeing peace and security on this continent, of preventing the deployment of further missiles, of withdrawing and scrapping the ones in place.

Stress was laid in this respect on the special importance the consolidation of the climate of security and trust has for the European states, for all the states of the world, for the countries in the Middle East and the Mediterranean included.

The interview passed in an atmosphere of mutual esteem and valuation, of friendship and understanding, under the sign of which the manysided Romanian-Egyptian relations, and the cooperation between the two countries and peoples develop.

Ceausescu, Muhyi ad-Din Meet

AU201940 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Cairo, AGERPRES 20/10/1983 -- On October 20, President Nicolae Ceausescu received at his residence, the Kubeh Palace, the prime minister of Egypt, Fuad Mumyi ad-Din.

During the interview, the Egyptian premier pointed to the special importance his country and people attach to the official visit of friendship paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, expressing satisfaction at the new Romanian-Egyptian summit, as well as his confidence that the understandings to be reached would give further impact to the cooperation between the two sides.

During the talk, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Fu'ad Muhyi ad-Din highlighted the fact that the traditional Romanian-Egyptian relations of friendship and collaboration had witnessed a continuous development on multiple planes and expressed the two states' wish to expand and deepen those relations, to diversify them especially in the field of industry and agriculture, the broad possibilities of cooperation offered by the economies of Romania and Egypt being capitalized for the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of international peace, collaboration and understanding.

Ceausescu Receives Parliamentarian

AU202033 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Cairo, AGERPRES 20/10/1983 -- On October 20 in the evening, President Nicolae Ceasescu received at the Kubeh Palace Sayid Zaki Abd al-Hadi, deputy speaker of the People's Assembly, chairman of the Egypt-Romanian Friendship Association.

During the interview, Sayed Zaki warmly welcomed President Nicolae Ceausescu on his own behalf and on behalf of the friendship association and of the Egyptian parliamentarians and expressed his conviction that the new summit dialogue would go down as a moment of reference in the development and expansion of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, in keeping with the esteem and the traditional, links between their peoples.

Thanking for the feelings expressed towards Romania and the Romanian people, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed high appreciation of the fruitful activity carried on by the Egypt-Romania Friendship Association.

On the forthcoming tenth foundation anniversary of that association, President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed the members of the association a message of friendship as well as wishes of further success in their activity, of happiness and good health.

In that framework, the particular role was highlighted incumbent on the association in promoting mutual knowledge, interchanges of delegations at the level of mass and public, youth and women, organizations in the cultural and sports fields.

ROMANIAN-MALTESE JOINT SOLEMN DECLARATION

AU192042 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Text] Valletta AGERPRES 19/10/1983 -- On October 19, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and the prime minister of Malta Dom Mintoff, signed in Valletta the Joint Romanian-Maltese Solemn Declaration, which reads as follows:

The Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Malta,

Taking into consideration the relations of friendship between the Romanian and Maltese peoples, grounded on the common aspirations for progress, liberty and national dignity,

Inspired by the wish to ensure a still higher level to the relations between the two states and to further confer dynamism, lastingness and diversity on these relations.

Convinced that the development and the diversification of mutual relations in all fields serve both the interests of the two countries and peoples and the cause of security, cooperation and peace in Europe in the Mediterranean and in the whole world,

Aware of the necessity of free and equal assertion in the international life of all nations, be they big, medium-sized or small, irrespective of their economic and military potential capacity, their political and social system,

Inspired by the wish to work for establishing new-type interstate relations based on universally acknowledged principles,

Determined to contribute actively, together with all the other states of the world, to the settlement of the complex issues of the international life, to the resumption of the policy of detente, to the achievement of general and complete disarmament, and primarily nuclear disarmament, to the establishment of a new international economic order,

I. Proclaim their common will to sanction:

Each state's sacred right to free existence, national independence and sovereignty,

The full equality of rights of all states, irrespective of their size, socio-political system, level of development,

Non-recourse to the use or threat of force against another state, under any circumstances or form,

The settlement of all interstate differences by peaceful means, through negotiations alone,

Strict observance of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity,

Non-interference in the internal affairs of states, ban on any military, political, economic or other coercion in interstate relations,

Each state's right to peace and security; the obligation of each state to contribute to maintaining international peace and security,

Each people's inalienable right to decide upon its own destiny, to choose and develop freely its political, economic and social system, without any outside interference,

Each state's right to legitimate self-defense against an armed attack,

Each state's right to free economic and social development, to progress.

Each state's sovereign, permanent and effective right to dispose of its natural wealth and other resources,

States' right and obligation to cooperate, irrespective of their socio-political system for maintaining international peace and security, and favouring the economic and social progress of all nations, Each state's inalienable right to participate, on an equal footing, in the examination and settlement of any problem which concerns it, as well as of international issues of general interest,

The fulfilment in good faith of the obligations undertaken according to the international law.

These principles are in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and with the principles that govern the mutual relations among the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, contained in the Final Act of the conference. They are inseparable and each principle should be interpreted in the context of the others.

These principles must be strictly observed by all states in their mutual relations; their violation can never be justified under any circumstance or pretext.

II. Solemny declare their common will and determination:

To intensify the political dialogue in order to strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples, to continue to this end their summit meetings, which should take place periodically, if possible,

To develop bilateral intergovernmental contacts in order to identify new forms and possibilities of expanding their relations in fields of mutual interest,

To support the development of relations between the parliaments, other institutions and organizations of the two countries,

To intensify their efforts in order to ensure a more dynamic growth of mutually advantageous commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, both bilaterally and on third markets,

To work for improving the legal framework of their bilateral relations,

To stimulate exchanges in the field of science, culture, education, mass media, tourism and sports as well as exchanges between youth organizations of the two countries,

To cooperate actively within the activities promoted by the United Nations, CSCE and other international bodies.

In conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter and with the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Socialist Republic of Romania recognizes, observes and supports the neutrality of the Republic of Malta, grounded on the principles of non-alignment, and calls upon the other states to recognize and observe this status.

III. Solemnly declare their common determination to work firmly and consistently, together with the other states, for:

The strengthening of peace, security and of cooperation in Europe, the Mediterranean included as an integral part of security and cooperation on the continent, The effective application of the aforementioned principles in interstate relations to the end of liquidating inequitable interestate relations and establishing a new international order, for a more just and better world,

The adoption and carrying into effect of measures conducive to the cessation of the arms race, to general and complete disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, to the reduction of the military budgets, dissolution of military blocs, the setting up of zones free of nuclear arms, dismantlement of foreign military bases and withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other states,

The settlement of the complex issues of the international economic situation; the access of all states to the achievements of modern science and technology as well as to the sources of raw materials and energy, so that the developing countries should hold an appropriate share in the world economy and international trade,

The liquidation of colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid and other forms of racial discrimination and exploitation of one people by another, irrespective of race, colour, citizenship or any other distinctions,

The enhancement of the role of the United Nations in maintaining and consolidating international peace and security, in developing cooperation among all nations and promoting the principles of international law in interstate relations.

IV. Call on all other states to jointly take solemn pledge:

To most responsibly work for the complete elimination of any use or threat of force in international relations, for the peaceful, negotiated, settlement of all interstate differences,

To firmly promote relations of friendship and cooperation, inconditions of complete security, in strict accordance with the fundamental principles of international law,

To work with all energy for the establishment of a new international economic order, for a more just and better world.

V. To fulfil the aims contained in the present Joint Solemn Declaration, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Malta assert their common will to deepen and expand their consultations through diplomatic channels as well as through periodical meetings at all levels.

REPORT ON 1984 TRADE PROTOCOL WITH ALBANIA

LD210309 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1625 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, October 20 (TANJUG) -- Trade between Yugoslavia and Albania should reach the value of 112 million dollars in 1984, or 12 percent more than the planned trade value in 1983.

The above was stated today, Thursday, in Belgrade, by the official spokesman of the Yugoslav Government in answering the request for details on a trade protocol Yugoslavia and Albania signed recently.

He added that the two countries' trade this year is lower than originally planned primarily because of reduced imports from Albania to Yugoslavia owing to unfavourable hydrological conditions in Albania.

DRAGAN ON SFRY-IRAQ ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROGRAM

LD201103 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0905 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Baghdad, October 20 (TANJUG) -- The governments and economies of Yugoslavia and Iraq are prepared to spare no effort to ensure the further development of economic co-operation regardless of the two countries' specific economic conditions. This was stated here yesterday evening (Wednesday) by Yugoslav Vice-Premier Zvone Dragan. He was on a visit to Iraq as member of a Yugoslav Government delegation led by Premier Milka Planinc.

During the visit, the Yugoslav-Iraqi committee for economic and scientific-technical co-operation held an extraordinary session at which, Dragan said, it accomplished very much.

In keeping with shared interests, and taking account of Iraq's specific condition at present and the current stage of Yugoslav actions aimed at economic stabilisation, it decided to continue developing economic and overall bilateral relations. "In this, he had in mind combining our efforts to overcome current difficulties more quickly and create conditions for the realisation of the current bilateral economic co-operation programme", stressed Dragan.

PRAVDA PUBLISHES WORK OF 'ANTI-YUGOSLAV' POET

LD191956 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1740 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG) -- A poem by an anti-Yugoslav writer from Bulgaria appeared in a special issue of the Soviet party daily PRAVDA published on the occasion of Soviet Constitution Day, TANJUG's correspondent reports from Moscow.

The writer, Venko Markovshi, says in his poem "Lights of the Earth" that the "lights' of Moscow and the "stars" of the Kremlin "illuminate" countries and peoples, their present and their destinies, as well as the future of the world.

Markovski, an emigre from Yugoslavia's Republic of Macedonia, is attacking his former country and people. He emigrated to Bulgaria because of advocating Stalinism and declaring himself in favour of the policy of the Cominform, an organization with the help of which Stalin intended to subjugate Yugoslavia after 1948. It is up to any wirter to write of the world as he sees it or feels about it, but the publishing of Markovski's poem in the leading Moscow paper is giving rise to various questions, few of which are of a purely literary nature, the correspondent says.

It is hard to believe, he notes, that the editors of PRAVDA are not aware of Markovski's political profile, especially as his book was removed from Bulgaria's stand at the international book fair in Moscow last month at the request of Yugoslav exhibitors. Markovski's book contains gross and indeed most [word indistinct] insults at the address of the Yugoslav peoples and their history and heritage, as well as their famous personalities such as Josip Broz Tito whom it calls the "standardbearer of anti-Sovietism." It would be interesting to know how would PRAVDA react to a Yugoslav paper -- and an official one to that -- publishing a piece by a writer from a third country, someone who is motivated exclusively by his hostility towards the Soviet Union, the history of its peoples, the culture and the proven historic figures of that country, as, for instance, Lenin, concludes the correspondent.

FINNISH PARTY LEADER KIVISTO VISITS BELGRADE

Meets With Dejanovic

LD192128 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1853 GMT 19 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 (TANJUG) -- President of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY) Jovan Dejanovic and chairman of the Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL) Kalevi Kivisto discussed here today (Wednesday) the development of Yugoslavia and Finland and the activities of the SAWPY and SKDL in their respective countries.

Dejanovic acquainted Kivisto with the characteristics of Yugoslav economic and social development and the (?role), place and tasks of the SAWPY in the country's self-management society.

Kivisto informed his host about the political and economic situation in his country and the SKDL's role in Finland's socio-political life.

Both sides expressed interest in promoting the traditionally good co-operation between the SAWPY and the SKDL.

Exchanges Views With Leaders

LD210703 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, October 20 (TANJUG) -- Central Committee Presidency President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Dragoslav Markovic [title as received] and chairman of the Finnish People's Democratic League Kalevi Kivisto today, Thursday, stressed the need for intensifying efforts by democratic forces in the World towards halting unfavourable trends in international relations.

Kalevi Kivisto heads a delegation of the Finnish People's Democratic League on a visit to Yugoslavia.

Markovic informed Kivisto and the Finnish delegation on Yugoslav internal development, stressing that the target of the long-term economic stabilization programme is not only to surmount the current economic difficulties in the country, but it is the road of further self-management development. Kivisto spoke on his party's activities on the internal plane and its views regarding developments in the world.

The Finnish delegation today had talks with Yugoslav Socialist Alliance Federal Conference Presidency member Aleksandar Grlickov on trends in the international workers movement. The need for promoting cooperation of all progressive forces in the world in the struggle for peace and disarmament, equal economic and political relations was stressed in the talks.

Grlickov spoke on the results and the importance of the Seventh Nonaligned Summit in New Delhi. The Finnish delegation was today also received by President of the Federal Chamber of the Assembly of Yugoslavia Aslan Fazlija. On this occasion he informed the guests on the functioning of the system of delegates in Yugoslavia.

SOUTH AFRICAN ATTACK ON MOZAMBIQUE CONDEMNED

LD210322 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Belgrade, October 20 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Government today (Thursday) most strongly condemned South Africa's continuous aggressive policy and terrorist acts against independent and sovereign neighboring countries. The government's press spokesman added that the latest terrorist act by Pretoria against South Afrian refugees at the African National Congress (ANC) seat in Maputo "constitutes a repeated act of brutal violation of the fundamental norms of conduct in international relations and a very serious threat to peace and security not only in the region but also beyond."

The Yugoslav government points out the need for urgent measures to curb the aggressive policy of the racist South African regime and abolish apartheid, in accordance with relevant resolutions of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the meetings of the Movement of Non-alignment, the spokesman, Svetislav Vujovic, said.

SUNDIC ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, POSSIBLE CHANGES

LD181920 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Oct 83

[Milika Sundic Commentary]

[Text] Here now is a foreign political commentary in which Milika Sundic examines whether there will be any changes in U.S. Foreign policy, and if so, in what direction.

[Sundic] It would be too bold to assert that something would change in American foreign policy with a single transfer in the White House. I refer to William Clark leaving the post of the President's national security adviser. From the time of his appointment to that post until he left it to become secretary of the interior he has -- and will in all likelihood also have in the future -- a considerable influence on Reagan's moves toward the Soviet Union, the East European countries, Near and Middle East and Central America.

For the time being only one thing is certain -- William Clark was not moved from his very influential position without due deliberation. However, it is still uncertain whether anything will change in the foreign policy of Reagan's administration, and if so, what. Reagan, there is no doubt, has decided to put himself forward once again as candidate for yet another term in the White House and in deliberating what awaits him he has certainly deliberated also about what he has failed to do in the past 3 years. All agree, both in America and elsewhere, that most of the wrong moves have been made in the sphere of foreign policy.

As a great world power, Americans are present everywhere and are involved in many disputes and conflicts, more so since World War II. Relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc as a whole have never been cooler than in the past 3 years, while the remaining months of this year and the whole of the next year will be decisive both for these relations and for world peace as a whole. It would, however, be wrong to say that only relations with the East have cooled.

America's European allies too had and still have many problems with the Reagn administration because, regardless of their ideological orientations, the excerbation of relations with the East, in particular with the Soviet Union, has not been to its liking. In fact, in the past few days -- and there will be more and more of this in the period to come -- Western Europe has found itself in the crossfire between the two superpowers, and this is not to its liking, either in the military, political, or, least of all, in the economic sense. Euromissiles, which have been extensively talked about in the past few months, have led western Europe into a position of a drowning person loath to accept a life belt either offered to him or forced on him. Whether anything will change with the departure of influential and stubborn Clark, as we have already said, nobody knows. But, if this had been Reagan's intention and if, following Clark's departure, warmer winds should be expected to blow from the other side of the Atlantic, it seems to us that Reagan is considerably late. Foreign policy has never been the decisive factor in the race for the White house. But a flexible and fruitful foreign policy has always considerably contributed to the re-election of an incumbent president.

Had Jimmy Carter, Reagan's predecessor, not experienced a fiasco in his attempt to free the American hostages from the embassy in Tehran, he would in all likelihood have won the elections 3 years ago. Precisely for this reason one should not exclude the possibility of certain changes in American behavior on the international scene. A possible agreement with the Soviet Union on Euromissiles, for instance, would represent for President Reagan a major coup at this time, not only with regard to calming down the tension in relations with the East but also with regard to freeing Europe from rapidly growing fear. One must believe that the American President is conscious of the significance of both of these aspects, in particular the situation whch will arise when the planned deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe starts.

TV SHOWS ATTENDANCE AT 5 OCT PRESIDENCY SESSION

AU201354 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1830 GMT on 5 October carries a 90-second film clip on the session of the SFRY Presidency under the chairmanship of Mika Spiljak in Belgrade on that day. The Presidency discussed the report of the commission of the Federal Executive Council for the preparation and implementation of the plan for implementing the long term economic stabilization program, a report on the visit of Italian President Sandro Pertini, and a report on the activities of the SFRY delegation at the session of the UN General Assembly.

A general view shot of a major section of the usual circular table and of several smaller sections shows that the following attended the session sitting from left to right: Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, one empty chair, Fadilj, Hodza, Mika Spiljak, Muhamed Berberovic, Lazar Kolisevski, Sergej Kraigher, Cvijetin Mijatovic, Radovan Vlajkovic, Petar Stambolic, one unknown man; several separate shots of a smaller section of the table show that the following also attended, left to right: one empty chair, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, Col Gen Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, and one unknown person.